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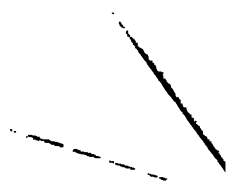
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**RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,
OR
CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND
DURING
THE MIDDLE AGES.**

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

**PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.**

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished ; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

**GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI
ABBATIS.**

THE CHRONICLE

OF THE

REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I.

A.D. 1169—1192;

KNOWN COMMONLY UNDER THE NAME OF

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH.

EDITED, FROM THE COTTON. MSS.,

BY

WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A.,

**REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
AND LIBRARIAN TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.**

VOL. II



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PREFACE.

PREFACE.

HAVING devoted the Preface to the first volume to the discussion of the literary history of this book, I will now proceed to sketch the character and position of the great prince whose reign forms the subject of far the largest portion of its contents.

It is almost a matter of necessity for the student of history to work out for himself some definite idea of the characters of the great men of the period he is employed upon. History cannot be well read as a chess problem, and the man who tries to read it so is not worthy to read it at all. Its scenes cannot be realized, its lessons cannot be learned, if the actors are looked on merely as puppets. A living interest must invest those who played a part in making the world what it is : those whose very existence has left indelible traces on its history, must have had characteristics worthy of the most careful investigation.

Such a judgment as may be formed in the nineteenth century, of a king of the twelfth, may well seem unsatisfactory. With the utmost pains it is hard to persuade ourselves that a true view is obtained, or is even obtainable. We know too little of his personal actions to be able in many cases to distinguish between them and those of his advisers ; or to say whether he was a man of weak will or of strong ; whether his good deeds proceeded from fear or from virtue, or from the love of praise ; whether his bad ones were the workings of hasty impulse, or the breaking out of concealed habit, or the

Some realization of character necessary for the student of history.

Such realization only approximate at best.

result of a long struggle between good motives and evil passions.

Opinions of
contemporary
writers as to character
are not to
be depended
upon.

Neither can we accept the delineations of contemporary writers without carefully testing them at every step. They are almost always superficial, but if that were the only fault we might be content to accept them as the verdict of ordinary judges, and it is always satisfactory to know what a man's contemporaries thought of him, even if they were neither close observers nor judicious critics. But their descriptions are seldom to be trusted even in this respect, for they betray almost universally a bias for or against the hero. The one in a thousand who is so far removed from personal feeling as to wish to take a philosophical or consistent view, is probably too far removed from acquaintance to be able to distinguish the truth from falsehood. The contemporary historian cannot view the career of his leading character as a whole; he sees it too closely, or else he sees it through a distorting medium. Hence the unsearchableness of the king's heart is so often given by mediæval writers as the reason for measures the bent of which they do not see, and as to which, for the want of acquaintance with other acts of the same kind, they cannot generalize.

Kings must
be judged by
their acts,
and that
judgment
tested by
their
reputation
in their own
days.

The heart of kings is unsearchable; but on the other hand their freedom of action is, or rather was, in the middle ages, uncontrolled by external restraints. In them, as in no other men, can the outward conduct be safely assumed to be the unrestrained expression of the inward character. It is from observing the general current of the life, from the examination of the recorded acts of it, that the only reasonable view of the character can be obtained. Standing too far off in time and mode of thought to be in much danger of imputing modern principles and motives, we can generalize somewhat as to the inward life of a man if we know what his outward life was; and then we can compare our conclusion with

the judgment of contemporaries, and see whether such men as they were would be likely to think as they have done of such a man as we have described to ourselves.

If we know enough of the facts of a man's life we can draw such a picture. Character that is not shown in act is not strong enough to be worthy of the name. The man whose character is worth study must be one whose acts bear the marks of character. In the view of a long life, some generalizations can almost always be drawn, from the repetition of acts, from the uniformity or uncertainty of policy. A king who lets his advisers act for him in one case will show the like weakness in others; will act in different ways under different personal influences. But one who all his life chooses his counsellors on one principle, and follows with them a uniform line of policy, chooses them because he approves their policy, or rather because they will carry out his own. And that policy, if such be traceable, is the expression of the strongest principles of his own character; it may be confused or perplexed by his minor traits, but it cannot be suppressed by them, and if it exists it will be seen in operation.

Such judgment possible in the case of a long reign.

A uniform policy a key to character.

A careful reading of the history of the three centuries of Angevin kings might almost tempt one to think that the legend of their diabolical origin and hereditary curse was not a mere fairy tale, but the mythical expression of some political foresight or of a strong historical instinct. But in truth, no such theory is needed; the vices of kings, like those of other men, carry with them their present punishment; whilst with them, even more signally than with other men, the accumulation of subsequent misery is distinctly conspicuous, and is seen to fall with a weight more overwhelming the longer their strength or their position has kept it poised.

Curse on the race of Plantagenet.

It was not that their wickedness was of a monstrous kind; such wickedness indeed was not a prominent feature in the character of the mediæval devil; nor was

Their sins not tragic.

it mere capricious cruelty or wanton mischief. Neither were their misfortunes of the appalling sort wrought out by the Furies of Attic tragedy. Of such misery there were not wanting instances, but not enough to give more than an occasional luridness to the picture. Nor was it as in the case of the Stewarts, that the momentum of inherited misfortune and misery had become a conscious influence under which no knightly or kingly qualities could maintain hope, and a meaner nature sought a refuge in recklessness. All the Plantagenet kings were high-hearted men, rather rebellious against circumstances than subservient to them. But the long pageant shows us uniformly under so great a variety of individual character, such signs of great gifts and opportunities thrown away, such unscrupulousness in action, such uncontrolled passion, such vast energy and strength wasted on unworthy aims, such constant failure and final disappointment, in spite of constant successes and brilliant achievements, as remind us of the conduct and luck of those unhappy spirits who, throughout the middle ages, were continually spending superhuman strength in building in a night inaccessible bridges and uninhabitable castles, or purchasing with untold treasures souls that might have been had for nothing, and invariably cheated of their reward.

Common
characteris-
tics of the
race.

Exceptions
in the cases
of Edward I.
and Henry
VI.

Only two in the whole list strike us as free from the hereditary sins; Edward I. and Henry VI., the noblest and the unhappiest of the race; and of these the former owes his real greatness in history, not to the success of his personal ambition, but to the brilliant qualities brought out by the exigencies of his affairs; whilst on the latter, both as a man and as a king, fell the heaviest crash of accumulated misery. None of the others seem to have had a wish to carry out the true grand conception of kingship. And thus it is with the extinction of the male line of Plantagenet that the social happiness of the English people begins. Even Henry VII., though, per-

haps, as selfish a man as any of his predecessors, and certainly less cared for or beloved, seems to open an era, during which the vices of the monarchs have been less disastrous to their subjects than before, and the prosperity of the state has increased in no proportion to the ability of the kings.

And yet no two of these princes were alike in the constituent proportions of their temperament. The leading feature of one was falsehood, of another cruelty, of another licentiousness, of another unscrupulous ambition: one was the slave of women, another of unworthy favourites, one a raiser of taxes, another a shedder of the blood of his people. Yet there was not one thoroughly contemptible person in the list. Many had redeeming qualities, some had great ones; all had a certain lion-like nobility, some had a portion of the real elements of greatness. Some were wise; all were brave; some were pure in life, some gentle as well as strong; but is it too hard to say that all were thoroughly selfish, all were in the main unfortunate?

In the character of Henry II. are found all the characteristics of his race. Not the greatest, nor the wisest, nor the worst, nor the most unfortunate, he still unites all these in their greatest relative proportions. Not so impetuous as Richard, or Edward III., or Henry V.; not so wise as Edward I.; not so luxurious¹ as John or Edward IV.; not so false as Henry III., nor so greedy as Henry IV.; nor so cruel as the princes of the house of York; he was still eminently wise and brave, eminently cruel, lascivious, greedy, and false, and eminently unfortunate also, if the ruin of all the selfish aims of his sagacious plans, the disappointment of his affections, and the sense of having lost his soul for nothing, can be called misfortune.

¹ William of Newburgh compares him with his grandfather to the disadvantage of the latter: "In libidinem prior, conjugalem

"modum excessit, formam quidem
"in hoc tenens avitam, sed tamen
"avo hujus intemperantiam palmam
"reliquit." Hist. Angl. iii. 26.

Varieties of individual character among the Plantagenets.

Henry II. combined most of these.

Apparent
anomalies in
the character
of Henry
II.

It would be a great mistake to view the personal and political character of Henry as one of unmingled vice. It was a strange compound of inconsistent qualities rather than a balance of opposing ones, yet the inconsistencies were so compounded as to make him restless rather than purposeless, and the opposing qualities were balanced sufficiently to suffer him to carry out a consistent policy. His fortunes, therefore, bear the impress of the man. He was a brave and consummate warrior, yet he never carried on war on a large scale, or hesitated to accept the first overtures of peace.¹ He was impetuous and unscrupulous, yet he never tempted fortune. He was violent in hatred, yet moderate in revenge;² a lover of good men, a corrupter of innocent women; at once religious and profane, lawless and scrupulous of right; a maker of good laws, and a seller of justice;³ the most patient and provoking of husbands; the most indulgent and exacting of fathers; playing with the children, whose ingratitude was breaking his heart, the great game of statecraft as if they had been pawns. He was tyrannical in mood without being a tyrant either in principle or in the exigencies of policy. In power and character, by position and alliances, the arbiter of Western Europe in both war and peace,⁴ he never waged a great war or enjoyed a sound peace; he never until his last year made an unsatisfactory peace or fought an unsuccessful battle. The most able and successful politician of his time, and thoroughly unscrupulous about using his power for his own ends, he yet died in a position less personally important than any that he had occupied during the thirty-five years of his reign, and, on the whole, less powerful

¹ "Pacis publicæ studiosissimus." W. Newb. iii. 26.

² "Inter ipsos triumphales eventus summam clementiam . . . conservavit." Gir. Camb. De Inst. Pr. ii. 3.

³ "Justitiæ venditor et dilator."

Giraldus, De Inst. Pr. ii. 3. Yet it was justice that he sold.

⁴ It was no mere flattery when the author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* called him "Rex illustris mun-
danorum principum maxime," p. 2 (ed. 1711).

than he began. Yet if we could distinguish between the man and the king, between personal selfishness and official or political statesmanship, between the ruin of his personal aims and the real success of his administrative conceptions, we might conclude by saying that altogether he was great and wise and successful.

Contrast between his personal and administrative successes.

In so mixed a character it would be strange if partial judges could not find much to praise and much to blame. In the eyes of a friend the abilities of Henry excuse his vices, and the veriest experiments of political sagacity wear the aspect of inventions of profound philanthropic devotion. To the enemy the same measures are the transparent disguise of a crafty and greedy spirit anxious only for selfish aggrandizement. The constitutional historian cannot help looking with reverence on one under whose hand the foundations of liberty and national independence were so clearly marked and so deeply laid that in the course of one generation the fabric was safe for ever from tyrants or conquerors. The partizan of ecclesiastical immunities or monastic discipline can see in him only the apostate and the persecutor. The pure moralist inclines to scrutinize personal vices and to give too little credit to political merit. It is by such that the character of Henry has for the most part been written. Whilst we accept the particulars in which they agree, we may, without pretending to be free from prejudice, attempt to draw from our own survey of his acts a more probable theory of the man and of his work on the age and nation.

Variety of judgments upon the character of Henry II. by the constitutionalist,

the ecclesiastic, and the moralist.

Interpreted by the history of his acts, the main purpose of Henry's life is clear. That was the consolidation of the kingly power in his own hands. Putting aside the disproportioned estimate of his ambition formed by contemporary writers, and encouraged perhaps by some careless or ostentatious words of his own,¹ we see in that

His character as interpreted by history.

¹ " Solet quippe, quoniam ex | " animosum pariter et ambitiosum
" abundantia cordis os loquitur, | " coram privatis suis nonnunquam

Ambition
not his ruling
passion; but
rather the desire
of consolidat-
ing his
power.

purpose no very towering idea of conquest, or shortsighted appetite for tyranny. If ambition were ever really his ruling passion, it was one which he concealed so well that its definite object cannot be guessed, which at an early period of his reign he must have dismissed as impracticable, and which never led him to forego by precipitate ardour one of the advantages that might be secured by delay and moderation. He may have had such an aim, he may have thought of the empire,¹ or that the deliverance of Spain or Palestine was reserved for his arms; but that he really did so we have not the most shadowy evidence. We know that he was a powerful, unscrupulous man, a man of vast energy and industry, of great determination, the last man in the world to be charged with infirmity of purpose; but we also know that he knew mankind and had read history, and we see that as the actual results of his plans were of no immoderate dimensions, so also the details of his designs were carried out with a care and minuteness only credible on the supposition that they were ends in themselves. We need not suppose gratuitously that he intended to base on the foundation of consolidated power a fabric of conquest that would demand half a dozen lives to complete.

Such a theory as I have stated at once gives him a

"verbum emittere 'totum videlicet
"mundum uni probo potentique
"viro parum esse.'" Gir. Camb.
De Inst. Prin. ii. 1.

¹ "Verum ad Romanorum imperium, occasione guerra diutinae et inexorabilis discordie inter imperatorem Fredericum et suos obortae, tam ab Italia tota quam urbe Romulea saepius invitatus, comparata quidem sibi ad hoc Morianae vallis et Alpium via, sed non efficaciter obtenta, animositate sua ambitum extendit."

Gir. Camb. De Inst. Pr. ii. 1. This is a curious passage taken in connexion with the statement of Peter of Blois, Ep. 113. "Vidimus et presentes fulmas, ubi regnum Palastinae, regnum etiam Italiae, patri vestro aut uni filiorum suorum, quem ad hoc eligeret ab utriusque regni magnatibus et populis est oblatum." A design of seizing Aix-la-Chapelle and the empire itself had been at one time ascribed to the Conqueror, in 1074. Lambert Hearn, ed. Pistorius, p. 377.

fitting aim for a moderate sensible ambition, and explains the relation between the influences of passion and policy by which he was actually swayed. His moral character, his self-will and self-indulgence, his licentious habits, his paroxysms of rage, his covetousness, faithlessness, and cruelty, did not come into any violent collision with his political schemes, or if they threatened to do so were kept (except perhaps in the single exception of the forest laws) in abeyance until the pressing necessity of policy was satisfied. That they were so restrained proves that this leading purpose is not to be regarded as imaginary. That they did sway him on almost every recorded occasion of his life in which they did not clash with his purpose is so certain as to prevent us from listening for a moment to any theory which would represent him as a beneficent, unselfish ruler. His ambition may not have been the one which his moral character and circumstances might lead us to expect; but to say this is merely to repeat that that character was rather a compound of inconsistent qualities than a balance of opposing forces.

This great purpose not liable to be thwarted by his passions.

Where this purpose did not interfere he was ruled very much by passion

Take for example his relations with France, the conquest of which is the only conceivable and was the most feasible object of the ambition with which he may be credited. In such a purpose his passions and his unscrupulous policy would have run in the utmost harmony—pride, passion, revenge, the lust of dominion, the love of power. He hated Lewis the Seventh, he had every right to hate him, both as injurer and as injured. He was more or less at variance with him as long as he lived; he knew him to be weak and contemptible, and yet to be the source of all his own deepest unhappiness. At many periods of his reign Lewis and France lay at his mercy. The net of alliances was spread all around him. Italy, Spain, Flanders, were in close alliance with Henry. From 1168 to 1180 the position of Henry the Lion in Germany was such as must have prevented Lewis from looking for any help from the house of Hohenstaufen, even if he and

He cannot have wished to conquer France.

His
ambition
more
moderate
than that of
Edward III.
or Henry V.

the emperor had not been the champions of rival popes. If the king of England and ruler of half of France abstained from taking what a man of vulgar ambition would have taken, what Edward III. and Henry V. nearly succeeded in taking, we are not indeed to ignore other possible reasons for his forbearance, but the most probable reason is that he did not want it.

Possible
reasons for
restraining
such
ambition in
the case of
France.

Such possible reasons may be suggested, but for the most part they are much too weak to stand before a resolute passionate ambition, and the certainty that they must have occurred to so clear-headed a man as Henry tells that the ambition they served to restrain could not have been of such a nature, if it existed at all ; but it is needless to speculate upon them. Unscrupulous as men were, the idea of unrighteous conquest from a Christian prince did not enter into the ordinary morality of the age. They fought for the settlement of quarrels, or for the decision of doubtful claims, or for rivalry, or for the love of war, but not for illegal conquest. In Henry's own wars this fact is clear, he never waged a war but on the ground of a legal claim. Further than this, his own feudal superstition, if it is not worthy of a higher name, with regard to the person of Lewis, was so strong as to exercise a visible restraint on his actual hatred. His political common sense might well have told him that the force which was enough to crush Lewis was not strong enough to hold France. The difficulties he experienced in ruling the dominions which he already possessed, and the variety of nationalities already crowded under one sceptre, were considerations that could not have escaped him, and they were just the considerations which, powerless before the lust of dominion, would commend themselves most forcibly to his characteristic caution.

Henry's
external
aims.

The real object of Henry's external ambition was the consolidation of his dominions. To effect this but a moderate extension was necessary. These dominions on

the continent were a long territory of varying breadth, the cohesion of which was of course weakest at its narrowest part. The reduction of Brittany from the condition of nominal to that of real dependence, and the extinction of any formidable power in Angoumois, la Marche, Saintonge, and Limousin, were necessary for the maintenance of the desired unity of estates. Second in importance was the enforcement of feudal claims over Toulouse and Auvergne, which might be more useful as independent allies than as unwilling vassals. The recovery of the Vexin and the establishment of Eleanor's rights over Berry gave a strength to the frontier and an apparent compactness to the mass ; but these, like Brittany, Henry chose to secure by marriages rather than by arms ; and in the same way the only considerable acquisition which he contemplated was attempted in the abortive proposal for the marriage of John with the heiress of Savoy and Maurienne.

In the pursuit of his object Henry went to work very much in the way in which a rich man in the eighteenth century created an estate and founded a family.¹ He was anxious to increase the mass of his inheritance and his local influence by advantageous marriages and judicious purchases. He was scarcely less anxious to extinguish copyholds and buy up small interloping freeholders. In the choice of his acquisitions, that stood first in his consideration which could be brought within a ring fence. If Henry II. occasionally had recourse to chicanery² and oppression, he has not wanted followers on both a large and a small scale whom his moderation even in these points might put to shame.

The character of his insular acquisitions was determined on a similar principle. Wales, Ireland, and Scot-

The consolidation of his continental dominions.

His procedure rather politic than openly aggressive.

His policy in the islands.

¹ For instance, his purchase of the county of La Marche in 1177. R. de Monte ad ann., and vol. i. p. 197. R. de Diceto, 600.

² "Omne jus poli jure fci demantavit. Scripta authentica omnium enervavit." *Hereditates retinuit aut vendidit.* R. Niger. 169.

The legal
pretence for
aggression.

land were all desirable conquests, but no great cost should be spent on them. If internal divisions could be turned to profit, or if the scheme of aggression could be made available for the diversion of uneasy spirits from home, Henry was ready to take advantage of the circumstances, but would not waste much treasure or many men. In each of these cases he had a legal claim; to Ireland by the gift of pope Adrian IV.; to Scotland and Wales by his inheritance of the ancient supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and the simple application of feudal principles to that inheritance. The case with regard to Ireland was even stronger, if we consider him as succeeding to the like ancient claim to supremacy, and as at once the nominee of the sovereign of all islands¹ and the invited arbiter of domestic quarrels. Yet according to Robert de Monte, the original design upon Ireland was formed for the purpose of finding a kingdom for William Longespee of Anjou, and the final conquest was carried out in order to provide a suitable settlement for John.² William the Lion and David of North Wales were reconciled by a royal or quasi-royal marriage.³ Galloway was not attacked until a like bond had proved too slight or too frail to hold it.

Henry's division of his dominions among his sons was

¹ See the Bull "Landabilliter," Gir. Camb. De Inst. Pr. ii. 19. "Sane Hiberniam et omnes insulas quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, . . . ad jus beati Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ . . . non est dubium pertinere." By a misinterpretation of the forged donation of Constantine.

² Ad. an. 1155. "Circa festum Sancti Michaelis Henricus rex Anglorum habito concilio apud Wincestrum de conquirendo regno Hiberniæ et Guillelmo fratri suo dando, cum optimatibus suis tractavit. Quod quia matri ejus im-

"peratrici non placuit intermissa est ad tempus illa expeditio." Cf. Cont. Anselm of Gemblours ad 1156: "Exercitum . . . quem proposuerat ducere in Hiberniam ut eam suo dominio subjugaret et fratremque suum concilio episcoporum et religiosorum virorum illi insulæ regem constitueret." See also Alberic of Trois Fontaines, ad 1156, ed. Leibnitz, p. 329.

³ Emma, the bastard daughter of Geoffrey Plantagenet, was married to David, prince of North Wales, in 1174. R. de Diceto, 565.

a measure which, as his own age did not understand it, later ones may be excused for mistaking; but the object of it was, as may be inferred from his own recorded words, to strengthen and equalize the pressure of the ruling hand in different provinces of various laws and nationalities.¹ The sons were to be the substitutes, not the successors of their father; the eldest as the accepted or elected sharer of the royal name, as feudal superior to his brothers, and first in the royal councils, stood in the same relation to his father as the king of the Romans to the emperor; he might rule with a full delegated power, or perhaps with inchoate independence, but the father's hand was to guide the helm of state. Unhappily the young brood of the eagle of the broken covenant were the worst possible instruments for the working of a large and complex policy; the last creatures in the world to be made useful in carrying on a form of government which the experience of all ages has tried and found wanting.

His distribution of his dominions, how to be explained.

Yet how grand a scheme of western confederation might be deduced from the consideration of the position of Henry's children, how great a dream of conquest may after all have been broken by the machinations of Lewis and Eleanor! What might not a crusade have effected headed by Henry II., with his valiant sons, the first warriors of the age, with his sons-in-law Henry the Lion, William of Sicily, and Alfonso of Castile; with Philip of France, the brother-in-law of his sons, Frederick Barbarossa, his distant kinsman and close ally, the princes of Champagne and Flanders, his cousins? In it the grand majestic chivalry of the emperor, the wealth of Sicily, the hardy valour and practical skill of Spain, the hereditary crusading ardour of the land of Godfrey of Bouillon and Stephen of Blois, the statesmanlike vigour

His grand position in Europe.

¹ "Addens etiam in illo mandato
"quod quando ipse solus erat in
"regimine regni nihil de jure amit-
"tebat, et modo dedecus esset cum

"sint plures in regenda terra ali-
"quid inde perdere." See below,
i. 130.

What a
crusade he
might have
led.

and simple piety of the great Saxon hero, under the guidance of the craft and sagacity, the mingled impetuosity and caution of Henry II., might have presented Europe to Asia in a guise which she has never yet assumed. Yet all the splendour of the family confederation, all the close-woven widespread web that fortune and sagacity had joined to weave, end in the cruel desertion, the baffled rage, the futile curses of the chained leopard in the last scene at Chinon. The lawful sons, the offspring, the victims, and the avengers of a heartless policy,¹ the loveless children of a loveless mother, have left the last duties of an affection they did not feel to the hands of a bastard, the child of an early, obscure, misplaced, degrading, but not a mercenary love.

His home
policy deter-
mined by
the same
ruling
principle.

The same idea of consolidating the kingly power is apparent in the legal and social measures of Henry II. His position was in these respects, indeed, more fortunate than in his foreign relations. He had not here to originate a policy which was to unite heterogeneous provinces, but inherited the experience of a century, the able ministers of his grandfather, and the plans which had been initiated in the reigns of William the Conqueror and William Rufus. But it certainly is not in the power of an ordinary administrator to adapt and develop the ideas of others, and embody them in a policy of his own. What credit Henry loses for originality he more than recovers when we consider the energy, skill, and industry with which he pursued his main object.

The exact
aim of this
policy.

The bent of his internal policy may be described as the substitution of the king's government for the state of things which had prevailed more or less ever since the conquest, which was partly coeval with the existence of the Norman race, partly owing to the incrustation of feudal institutions ; against which the conqueror had

¹ See Giraldus Camb. De Inst. Pr. ii. 3 ; and William of Newburgh iii. 26.

had to struggle, which William Rufus had to repress by the strong hand, which Henry I. by dint of time and skill had but in a degree weakened, and which had regained in the anarchy of Stephen's reign all the power that it had lost under his predecessor.

The idea of a kingly government administered by the king's servants, in which the action of the feudal nobility where it existed was simply ministerial, and was not, so far as the executive was concerned, even necessary to the maintenance of the plan, was the true remedy for the evils of anarchy inherent in the Norman state. Such a system could not be devised by a weak or ambitious head, or worked by feeble or indolent hands. Nor could it be brought to maturity or to easy action in one man's lifetime. The elements of discord were not extinguished in Henry's reign; they broke out whenever any other trouble distracted the king's energy or divided his power. Still he was in the main successful, and left to his successors the germ of a uniform administration of justice and system of revenue. His ministers, who at the beginning of his reign were little more than officers of his household, at the end of it were the administrators of the country.¹ The position of England in the affairs of Europe was, from this time, owing not to the foreign possessions of the sovereign, but to the compactness of her organization, and the facility with which the national strength and resources could be handled.

It does not matter much whether we consider the

¹ This great extension of the power and importance of the king's ministers during the reign has frequently been remarked in the case of the chancellor. Yet the difference of the position of Henry I.'s chancellors as compared with that of Becket and Longchamp is trifling compared with the position of the marshal at the beginning and end-

ing of Henry II.'s reign. With regard to the lay official, the contrast is more significant, because the aggrandizement is personal rather than official. The constable, on the other hand, seems to have retained some of the prestige of the position of the Stallerer from earlier times.

The creation
of a strong
central
government.

The govern-
ment to be
by the king
and his
ministers
eliminating
the feudal
element.

Character of the details of Henry's system of government: philosophical or experimental? several measures of Henry's administrative reforms as parts of a matured definite scheme, or as the expedients and experiments of an adroit manager. The more carefully we study the remaining monuments of the earlier reigns, or the character of Henry's ministers, the more we may be convinced that his genius was rather adaptive and digestive than originative. When on the other hand we examine the actual results of his reforms as exemplified in the succeeding reigns, the more certainly we see the difference between the earlier fragmentary attempts at legislation and the definite system which Henry left behind him; but on any view the industry, energy, and readiness of his working were qualities of the man himself.

Two opposite views of his character drawn from the examination of his system. (1) Was he a tyrant? It is obvious that Henry's great design as well as the subordinate parts of it may, taken apart from the general tenour of his character, be read in two ways, or rather that two opposing views of his character may be drawn from the bare consideration of his objects and measures.

It may seem that he wished to create a tyranny, to overthrow every vestige of independence among the clergy and nobles, and to provide himself from the proceeds of taxation with means of carrying out personal selfish designs. He might be a man who could endure no opposition, and to whom it was enough to make a thing intolerable that it should be originated by any other than himself. Such a reading would explain much of his avarice, cruelty, and greediness in acquiring territory.

(2) Was he a benefactor? Or it might be argued that as so many of his schemes did actually result in the amelioration of the condition of his subjects, as his judicial reforms were the basis on which the next generation was enabled to raise the earlier stages of civil liberty; and as his ecclesiastical measures have in nearly every particular been sanctioned and adopted by the practice of later ages, he is therefore entitled to the praise of a well-intentioned, benevolent ruler, as well as to the credit of a far-sighted statesman.

or (3) a far-sighted statesman?

Both of these views have been advocated, the first by some of his contemporaries, and those who in later times have approached the history from their point of prejudice; the latter by those who, both anciently and recently, have been inclined to look with too professional an eye on the character of his reforms. I have stated already that I think neither of them tenable; and as it is at present Henry's personal character that is before me, I will give the reasons.

As to the first theory, which, in the mouths of his contemporaries, seems so condemnatory, it must be said that gratuitous baseness was no part of Henry's character, if we may judge by his actions. He was thoroughly unscrupulous and unprincipled, but he was not a tyrant; he was not wantonly cruel or oppressive. His crimes against public law and order, such as they were, were not purposeless, nor is it in any way necessary to suppose that he had that intolerance of all opposition which pursues tyranny for its own sake. He had definite aims, and followed them unrelentingly; whatever could be made to minister to their furtherance was forced to its use. As his passions gave way to his policy, so the minor measures of his policy were sometimes compelled to give way to the occasional exigencies of his great design. But where there was no definite object, he was not a tyrant.

The theory that he was a benevolent governor or a far-sighted statesman is not supported, either by the apparent purpose of his reforms, or by their actual result. It requires no particular benevolence to teach a king that his subjects are more contented when justice is fairly administered than when violence reigns unrepressed; and that where they are contented, they are more likely to be industrious, and more able to pay taxes; that where they have more at stake, they are more ready to make sacrifices to purchase security; but this is no lesson of far-sighted statesmanship, for it is the simplest

None of these views tenable.

(1) Neither in policy nor in character was he a despot.

(2) He was too entirely selfish to be called a benefactor.

Uniform
selfishness
of Henry II.

principle of the art of government. If there were any sign of benevolence, any glimpse of the love of his people apparent in his actions, he ought by all means to have the credit of it; if there were any such general tone in his private life it might be allowed to give the key of interpretation of his public life, and a harmony to his whole character. But his life was violent and lawless; his personal design, wherever it clashed with his established measures, set them at once aside.

He was a
statesman,
not a theo-
rist; and
cannot
claim credit
for far-
sightedness.

Again, such parts of his system as have been approved by the voice of late posterity, such as, especially the restrictions on papal power and on ecclesiastical immunities, are capable of very simple discussion. There is no need to enter into a question of the personal merit of S. Thomas of Canterbury, or of the exact point for which he held out, and for which, in fact, he perished. We may respect the stout-heartedness of the prelate without approving his cause, or we may approve his cause without shutting our eyes to the violent and worldly spirit in which he conducted it; but when we find that in this cause all the piety and wisdom of three centuries saw the championship of Divine truth and justice against secular usurpation, we are not surely wrong in supposing that the constitutions of Clarendon were dated three centuries too soon. Was Henry really three centuries before his age? If the answer is affirmative, we deny his character as a statesman, and reduce him to a theorist. In truth, it was as ancient customs that he wished to restore them, not to force them as innovations. His mistake was not that he anticipated the age of the reformation, but that he neglected to consider that such was the rapid progress of papal assumption, and its acceptance,

¹ "Avitas consuetudines." Gerv.
1385. "Leges avi mei Henrici
regis recordatas et conscriptas
publice coram omnibus recitentur

"ne novum aliquid tradidisse quis-
quam nobis presumat imponere."
Grim. S. T. C. i. 31.

both in England and on the continent, since the age of Hildebrand, that his "ancestral rights" were really left high and dry behind the advancing flood which he vainly thought to stem. The policy to which feudal antiquity had been forced to yield was really powerless against the increasing tide of ecclesiastical authority. The point which eluded the sagacity of Henry was identical with that which the conqueror himself had overlooked when he established ecclesiastical courts to take cognizance of the secular offences of the clergy. Both saw the impossibility of reconciling royal supremacy with the claims of feudal antiquity; but in ecclesiastical matters William yielded to, or perhaps helped on, the first trickling of the stream which Henry had to withstand in its full force. It was as necessary to William to strengthen as it was to Henry to weaken the power of the clergy. Henry should not have expected to find in Becket one who would at once fill the seat and reverse the measures of Lanfranc.

The difference of his success against feudal and against ecclesiastical usurpation respectively.

In his secular and ecclesiastical reforms alike, he had an object to gain, which demanded unusual measures; and he, without scruple and without remorse, tried to enforce them by all means, fair and foul. If he was not a mere tyrant, he was a man who was never deterred by any considerations but those of expediency from trying to win his game.

Though not a tyrant, he would have been if it had been necessary.

It seems, then, that there is a third and a truer reading of this eventful life, one which makes no demand on our credulity like the second, and which requires no harsh construction of simple actions like the first. Henry wished to create, at home and abroad, a strong government. In this itself there was nothing deserving the name of tyrannical; at the worst it was less of a tyranny than that which had been in use in the three Norman reigns, and had been exercised on both sides in the contests of that of Stephen. As governments were in those days, any might be accounted good which was conducted

The desire to create a strong government no proof of tyrannical designs, or of a despotic spirit.

Constitutional government still in embryo.

on the principle of law, not on caprice. The notions of constitutional sovereignty and liberty were still locked up in the libraries, or in embryo in the brains of the clergy.

His bad points brought out by opposition.

Such a theory makes Henry neither an angel nor a devil. He was a man of strong nature; strong will, strong affections, and strong passions. His ambition was not a wanton one. He began his reign without any temptation to be oppressive; but from the beginning we can read his purpose of being master in his own house. The humbling of the barons was no hard task; the initiation of law and order was an easy consequence; but the attempt to apply the principles of law and order to the clergy, in a way that was not sanctioned by the public opinion of his day, and which made his ablest counsellor his most inveterate foe, brought up an opposition which called into play all the violence of his nature. It was not that his character changed, but that circumstances brought out what was in him in a stronger light. After Becket's death, the circumstances became even stronger still, and brought out in a still stronger light the same characteristics.

Actual results of Becket's murder.

By that most disastrous event all the elements of opposition were restored to life. Lewis had now a cause which, to his weak and wicked conscience, justified all the meanness and falsehood that he could use against his rival. The clergy dared not side with the king in such a quarrel. The barons took immediate advantage of the general disaffection. The king's sons lighted the flames of war. Not, I think, that there is any evidence to show that the death of S. Thomas was actually or nominally the pretext for revolt; but it was a breaking up of the restraints which had so far been effectual; and all who had grievances were ready and able to take advantage of the shock.

Under the circumstances, Henry did not show himself a hero, but he behaved as a moderate and politic con-

queror. It was not revenge, but the restoration of the strength of his government that he desired. He did not break off his plans of reform: year after year saw some wise change introduced into the legal or military administration; and practically he managed the church without any glaring scandal. He ruled for himself, not for his people; but he did not rule cruelly or despotically. His character contained much that was tyrannical, but his policy was not such as to curse him with the name of tyrant.¹

Henry's policy weighed more with him than his desire of revenge.

Is Henry, then, to have no credit for his sagacious measures? Yes; the credit due to a man who, having come to his crown with a power limited by circumstances rather than by law, and having overcome those circumstances, has chosen to sacrifice somewhat of the licence of despotism for the safety of order; has chosen to place his power on the basis of public security and common justice.² Such merit was his, although, doubtless, the love of power was stronger in him than the love of order. His wisdom was not less wisdom because it was the wisdom of a selfish man.

What credit is due to him?

In the elaborate descriptions of Henry II., which are given by Peter of Blois, Giraldus Cambrensis, and Ralph Niger, we cannot doubt that we have the accurate delineation of the man as he appeared through the different mediums of liking and dislike. The main lines of the portraits are the same, though they are seen as it were through variously-coloured glass. They are well-marked and defined, as we might expect in the most superficial view of such a man. But although well-

Can the portraits drawn of him by his contemporaries be harmonised?

¹ R. de Dic. 578.

² "Illustris Anglorum rex Henricus hoc nomine participantium regum secundus dictus est, sed nulli modernorum fuisse creditur in rebus componendis animi virtute secundus: ab ipso enim suis

"dominationis exordio totum in
"hoc direxit animum ut paci rebel-
"lantes et dysscolos multiplici sub-
"versione contereret, et pacis ac
"fidei bonum in cordibus hominum
"modis omnibus consignaret."
Dial. de Scaco. p. 38.

He does not
look like a
hero.

Abstract of
the charac-
ters given by
contempora-
ries.

marked and strongly defined, they do not combine, even under the hand of a professed panegyrist, into the outlines of a hero.

We see a hard-headed, industrious, cautious,¹ subtle,² restless man; fixed in purpose, versatile in expedients; wonderfully rapid in execution; great in organizing, without being himself methodical; one who will always try to bind others, whilst leaving himself free;³ who never prefers good faith to policy or appearances to realities; who trusts rather to time and circumstances than to the goodwill of others; by inclination parsimonious and retiring, but on occasion lavish and magnificent; liberal in almsgiving,⁴ splendid in building,⁵ but not giving alms without an ulterior object, nor spending money on buildings, except where he can get his money's worth. As with treasure so with men, he was neither extravagant nor sparing; rather economical than hu-

¹ "Omnia prius quam arma per-
tentana." Gir. Camb. "Mar-
tios congressus quoad potuit sem-
per evitans." Ib. iii. 24.

² His dissimulation is a great point with Becket. S. T. C. iii. 63, 140, 225. No one who ever had anything to do with him escaped his mousetraps (muscipulas). Epp. Cant. 260. Tendiculus, S. T. C. iii. 302. He was a complete Proteus. S. T. C. iii. 302.

³ "Naturali quadam inconstantia, verbi plerumque spontaneus transgressor; nam quoties res in arcum devenerat, de dicto malens quam de facto punitere, verbumque facilius quam factum irritum habere." Gir. Camb.

⁴ "Incomparabilis eleemosynarum largitor et præcipuus terræ Palestinæ sustentator." Gir. Camb. Cf. Dial. de Scacc. p. 2. See

his will in Giraldus, De Inst. Pr. ii. 17; also Ralph de Diceto, 613; Gervase, 1459.

The orders of Grammont and Fontevrand were his favourites, as the Cluniac was of Henry I. and the Cistercian of Richard I. The monks of Fontevrand registered him in their obituary as "secundus probitate Alexander, alter Salomon scientia." Note on Ralph of Coggeshall in Bouquet.

⁵ "Ad pacem populi spectat immensitas illa pecuniarum quam donat, quam recipit, quam congregat, quam dispergit. In mariis, in propugnaculis, in munitionibus, in fossatis, in clausuris ferarum et piscium, et in palatiorum edificis, nullus subtilior, nullus magnificentior invenitur." P. Bles. See especially the list of his buildings in R. de Monte, 896, ad ann. 1161.

mane; pitiful after the slaughter of battle, but not chary of human life where it could be spent with effect.¹

*Abstract of
the charac-
ters given by
contempora-
ries.*

He had the one weakness of great minds, without which no man ever reached greatness; never to be satisfied without doing or taking part himself in everything that was to be done;² and he had not what may be called the strength of little minds, inability to see good in what he did not himself devise.

He was eloquent, affable, polite, jocose;³ so persuasive in address that few could resist the charm of his manner. He had the royal prerogative of never forgetting names and faces;⁴ he loved to encourage the retiring, and to repel the presuming.⁵ He was a most excellent and bountiful master.⁶ He was very faithful, both in friendships and enmities, where they did not interfere with his policy.⁷

He was not without elegant tastes;⁸ he loved the

¹ "Amiseros in acie ples principe
"plangens et humanior extracto
"militi quam superstiti, longeque
"majori dolore mortuos lugens
"quam vivos amore demulcens."
Gir. Camb.

² Even Richard I., like Napoleon Bonaparte, complained that he could not be everywhere, "Nemo potest esse ubique." Itin. R. R. p. 267. R. de Diceto, 560. "Per provincias currens explorat facta omnium, illos potissimum judicans quos constituit judices aliorum." Pet. Bles.

³ Nemo est argutior in consiliis, in eloquio torrentior." "Nullus rege nostro honestior est in loquendo, in comedendo urbanior, moderator in bibendo." P. Bles. "Princeps eloquentissimus. . . .
"Vir affabilis, vir flexibilis et facetus."

⁴ "Quemcumque vel semel in

"facie attentius inspexerat, quam
"quam in tanta quotidie multitudine
"constitutus nunquam amplius ignotum habebat." Gir. Camb.

⁵ "Nullus mansuetior est afflictis,
"nullus affabilior pauperibus; nullus importabilior est superbis. . .
"studuit opprimere fastuosos, oppressos erigere." Pet. Bles.

⁶ "In augendis dignitatibus sibi
"militantium semper aspirat."
Dialogus de Scaccario, p. 30.

⁷ "Quem semel dilexit vix dediligit; quem vero semel exosum habuit vix in gratiam familiaritatis admittit." Pet. Bles. "Quem semel exosum habuerat, vix in amorem, quem semel amaverat vix in odium revocabat." Gir. Camb.

⁸ "Quoties enim potest a curis et sollicitudinibus respirare, secreta se occupat lectione, aut in cuneo clericorum aliquem modum quas-

His taste
for history.

reading of history, delighted in the conversation of acute and learned men like his uncles the kings of Jerusalem, and his sons-in-law William of Sicily and Henry of Saxony. . He had a wonderful memory,¹ well stored with the lessons of past times, and with the experiences of constant journeys, on which he was careful to see everything that was to be seen.

His re-
ligiousness.

He had little regard for more than the merest forms of religion;² like Napoleon Bonaparte, he heard mass daily, but without paying decent attention to the ceremony. During the most solemn part of the service he was whispering to his courtiers, or scribbling, or looking at pictures.³ His vows to God he seems to have thought might be evaded as easily as his covenants with men; his undertaking to go on crusade was commuted for money payments, and his promised religious foundations were carried out at the expense of others.⁴ His regard

His morals.

to personal morality was of much the same value and extent. He was at no period of his life a faithful hus-

"tionis laborat evolvere: Nam
"cum rex vester bene (i.e. William
"of Sicily) litteras noverit, rex
"noster longe litteratior est. . .
"Verum tamen apud regem Anglo-
"rum quotidiana ejus schola est,
"litteratissimorum conversatio
"jugis, et discussio questionum."
P. Bles. "Quod his temporibus
"conspicuum est, litteris eruditus.
". . . Historiarum omnium fere
"promptam notitiam et cunctarum
"rerum experientiam propemodum
"ad manum habebat."

¹ "Quicquid aliquando memoria
"dignum audierat nunquam a mente
"decidere poterat." Gir. Camb.

² He was occasionally, like John, violently blasphemous. See Gir. Camb. de Inst. Pr. iii. 11. He neglected confession, Ib. iii. 13.

³ This may be a libel of Ralph

Niger, but it is graphic enough to be true; "Oratorium ingressus, "picturæ aut susurro vacabat," p. 169. Giraldus says the same, "Sa- "cræ vix horam hostiæ mittendæ "divinis accomodans, et id ipsum "temporis, ob regni forte negotia "tanta rei que publicæ causæ, plus "consillis et sermone quam devo- "tione consumens."

⁴ Ralph Niger's account of this is very characteristic: "Juratus se "tria monasteria constructurum, "duos ordines transvertit, personas "de loco ad locum transferens, me- "retrices alias aliis, Cenomannicas "Anglicis substituens." This of course refers to the Amesbury trans- action. The Waltham one was of much the same kind. Giraldus also is severe on this very shabby busi- ness, and is unable to say what

band; and when he had finally quarreled with Eleanor he sank into sad depths of licentiousness.¹

He was an able, plausible, astute, cautious, unprincipled man of business. His temper was violent, and he was probably subject to the outrageous paroxysms of passion which are attributed to his Norman ancestors, and which, if they have not been exaggerated by the historians, must have been fearful proofs of a profane and cruel disposition, on which discipline had imposed no restraints.²

His personal appearance did not approach the heroic. He was slightly above the middle height,³ square and substantial, with a decided tendency to corpulence.⁴ His head was round, and well proportioned;⁵ his hair approaching to red, sprinkled in his later years with white, but always kept very short as a precaution against baldness.⁶ His face is described by one authority as

Abstract of the contemporary accounts of his appearance.

the third monastery was by the construction of which his vow was fulfilled, unless it were the Charterhouse at Witham. *De Inst. Pr.* ii. 7.

¹ Ralph Niger says that he imprisoned Eleanor that she might not interfere with his amours (p. 168). He says also of him, "Corruptor pudicitie et avum sequens in flagitiis, primo in sponsas, post in filias procerum illecebras exercens." Giraldus says that after Eleanor's imprisonment, "qui adulter antea fuerat occultus, effectus postea manifestus, non mundi quidem rosa, juxta falsam et frivolum nominis impositionem sed mundi verius rosa vocata, palam et impudentius abutendo;" a statement which settles two traditional statements about Rosamond, namely, that she was the mother of Geoffrey who was born about 1158, and that she was put out of the way by Eleanor. Walter de Mapes says that Geoffrey's

mother was a low woman, named Ykenay.

² Cf. *S. T. C.* iv. 260.

³ "Statura ejus mediocris est, ut et inter parvos magnus appareat, nec inter majores minimus videatur." *Pet. Bles. ep.* 66. Henry and Richard were taller than their father, John and Geoffrey shorter. *Gir. Camb.* ii. 29.

⁴ "Corpore carnosio . . . ventre peramplum." Giraldus *Camb.*

⁵ "Amplum capite et rotundo." *Gir. Camb.* "Caput ejus sphaericum," "ut collo et toti corpori proportionali moderatione respondet." *Pet. Bles.*

⁶ "Subrufus." *Gir. Camb.* "Subrufum . . . nisi quia colorem hunc venerabilis senectus et superveniens canities aliquantulum alteravit." *Pet. Bles.* "Caesaries ejus damna calvitiei non veretur, superveniente tamen artificii callorum tonsura." *Ibid.*

His face and figure. fiery,¹ by another as lion-like. His eyes were grey, and full of expression, but rather prominent, and occasionally bloodshot.² His nose was well-formed, and denoted no more pride or fastidiousness than was becoming to a king.³

He had a short bull neck,⁴ a broad square chest,⁵ the arms of a boxer,⁶ and the legs of a horseman⁷ (the author does not say whether of a groom or of a cavalier). His feet were highly arched,⁸ but his hands were clumsy and coarse.⁹

His personal habits. He paid very little attention to dress,¹⁰ and never wore gloves but when he went hawking. He took a great deal of exercise, being both restless by habit and anxious to keep down his tendency to fat. He was a great hunter and hawker,¹¹ he never sat except at meals or on horseback.¹² He transacted all business standing, greatly to the detriment of his legs. He was very moderate in both meat and drink,¹³ cared very little for appearances,

¹ "Facies ignea." Gir. Camb.
"Leonina facies quasi in quadrangulum se dilatat." Pet. Bles.

² "Oculis glaucis, ad iram torvis et rubore suffusis." Gir. Camb.
"Oculi ejus orbiculati sunt; dum pacati est animi columbini et simplices, sed in ira et turbatione cordis quasi scintillantes ignem et in impetu fulminantes." Pet. Bles.

³ Pet. Bles.

⁴ "Collo ab humeris aliquantulum demisso." Gir. Camb.

⁵ "Pectore quadrato." Gir. Camb.
"Thorax extensor." Pet. Bles.

⁶ "Brachiis validis." Gir. Camb.
"Lacerti pugiles." Pet. Bles.

⁷ "Equestres tibiae." Pet. Bles.

⁸ "Arcuati pedes." Pet. Bles.

⁹ "Manus ejus quadam grossitie sua hominis incuriam protestantur; earum enim cultum prorsus

"negligit, nec unquam nisi aves deferat utitur chirothecis." Pet. Bles.

¹⁰ "Ocreis sine plica, pileis sine fastu et vestibus utitur expeditis." Pet. Bles.

¹¹ "Semper in manibus ejus sunt arcus, enses, venabula, sagittae." Pet. Bles.

¹² "Semper a mane usque ad vesperam stat in pedes, et licet tibiae habeant frequenti percussione caliditantum equorum enormiter vulneratas et lividas nisi tamen equitet vel comedat, nunquam sedet." Pet. Bles. So also Gir. Camb. "Cum tibiaram pedumque tumore frequenti . . . ceteras id ipsum corporis incommoditates accelerabat."

¹³ "Caro siquidem ejus se mole pinguedinis enormiter onerasset, nisi quia ventris insolentiam jejuniis et exercitio domat." Pet.

loved order in others without observing it himself; he was a good and kind master, who chose his servants well, but neither trusted them too much, nor ever forgave their neglect of his interests.

The picture is not a pleasant one; in spite of his refined tastes and his polite address he must have looked generally like a rough, passionate, uneasy man. But his frame, thought not elegant, was very serviceable, qualified him for great exertion, and was proof against privation or fatigue. He was an adroit and formidable man at arms, but there was little at first sight to denote either the courteous knight or the skilful general, or the self-possessed intriguer, or the ingenious organizer, or the versatile administrator, or the profound politician.

General
impression
derived
from these.

But if the character of Henry contained none of the elements of real greatness, if the leading principle of it was one which is actually incompatible with the highest degree of excellence in a ruler, the position of the nation he governed was such, and the influence exercised upon it by his character and the events of his reign was so salutary, as to make him one of the most conspicuous actors in the drama of English history. He was a link in the chain of great men by whom, through good and evil, the English nation was drawn on to constitutional government. He was the man the time required. It was a critical time, and his actions and policy determined the crisis in a favourable way. He stands with Alfred, Canute, William the Conqueror, and Edward I., one of the conscious creators of English greatness.

Importance
of his
position in
English
history.

His reign was the period of amalgamation,¹ the union

Bles. "Erat enim cibo potaque	"lustrans, nunc montium juga
"modestus ac sobrius. . . . Pacis	"transcendens dies ducebat inqui-
"quoque tempore sibi nec pacem	"etos; vespere vero domum re-
"ullam nec requiem indulgebat;	"ceptum, vel ante cenam vel post,
"venationi enim trans modestiam	"rarisime sedentem conspexeris."
"deditus, summo diluculo equo	¹ "Jam cohabitantibus Anglicis
"cursore transvectus, nunc saltus	"et Normannis et alterutrum ux-

Period of
amalgama-
tion.

of the different elements existing in the country, which, whether it be looked on as chemical or mechanical, produced the national character and the national institutions.

Possible
speculation
on national
character.

If there is really such a thing as national character, we may speculate thus. The Anglo-Saxon temperament had run to seed in the age preceding the conquest. The efforts of Canute, directed to the thorough union of the Danish with the Anglo-Saxon population, had ended as such efforts generally do, in the assimilation of the smaller to the larger constituent in the union of the kindred races. The Danish provinces had become before the conquest scarcely distinguishable from the Anglo-Saxon, as far as concerned national feeling, and the more important questions of law and manners. What differences yet remained served to intensify the weakness which was inherent in the character of the mass.

Self-reli-
ance, the
character
produced by
Anglo-Saxon
institutions.

The tendency of all the Anglo-Saxon institutions was to produce a spirit of self-dependence; that was the strength of the system. Its weakness was the want of cohesion, which is a necessary condition of particles incapable of self-restraint in the absence of any external force to compress them. The power of combination was not indeed wanting, but it was exercised only in very small aggregations, for very small purposes, and those private rather than national. The allodial system left the owner of land dependent on no earthly lord. The principle of combination in gilds and tithings, which to a certain extent was voluntary, on the one hand, and the system of commendation, which was entirely so, on the other, supplied a very indifferent means of national union. The unity of the tithing was far closer than that

“ores ducentibus vel nubentibus, “sic permixtæ sunt nationes ut vix “discerni possit hodie, de liberis “loquor, quis Anglicus, quis Nor- “mannus sit genere; exceptis dun-	“taxat ascriptitiis qui villani dicun- “tur, quibus non est liberum ob- “stantibus dominis suis a sui status “conditione discedere.” <i>Dialogus</i>, &c., p. 26.
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of the hundred ; that of the hundred than that of the county ; that of the county, or of the district governed by the same law, was far stronger than that of the kingdom. Self-reliance in great and small alike, without self-restraint, without the power of combination, with a national pride and yet no national spirit, laid England an easy though unwilling prey at the feet of the Conqueror. Hating to submit, it was yet unable to unite except in the same small clusters in which throughout its early history the nation had exhausted its power of cohesion ; hence the special character of the struggles which occupied the early years of William's reign.

Self-reliance carried to an extreme ends in the loss of the power of cohesion.

For such a condition the feudal system was undoubtedly the fitting cure. There is much truth, though only half the truth, in Mr. Carlyle's observation that the pot-bellied equanimity of the Anglo-Saxon needed the drilling and discipline of a century of Norman tyranny. The grinding process by which the machinery of feudalism forced into a common mass all the different interests, desires, and habits of the disunited race was, however, only one part of its operation. The feudal system was very far from being altogether bad. Like the Holy Alliance, it would have been a very excellent device if it could have been administered by angels ; and all Norman nobles were by no means such men as William Rufus or Robert of Bellesme. The essence of the system was mutual fidelity, and its proper consequence the creation of a corporate unity, and the recognition of it by every member from the king to the villein. The bond was not a voluntary one, to be taken up and put aside at pleasure ; the principle of cohesion was uniform throughout the mass. If then on the one hand the maladministration of the system forced the different constituents of the nation into a physical union of interests, the essential character, which no maladministration could neutralize, supplied the very elements which were wanting for moral strength. Self-reliance was proved not to be in-

The feudal system helped to restore this power (1) by its bad administration, and (2) by its inherent soundness of principle.

compatible with order, mutual faith, and regard to law ; and these are indispensable for national strength and national spirit.

The pressure
of feudal
discipline
was tem-
porary only.

It was not, however, necessary that the pressure of this discipline should be perpetual ; it was enough that the lesson should be learned, and the rod might be cast aside ; but very much must depend on the treatment applied at the moment. Had the crucible been taken from the furnace too soon the elements would never have combined ; if it had been kept there too long the fusion would have ended in an explosion, or in the formation of an insensate, unductile mass. The reign of Henry II. was the time of the crisis, and the hands by which the happy moment was seized were his own and those of his ministers. If Henry had been a better man his work would have been second to that of no character in history ; had he been a weaker one than he was, England might have had to undergo for six hundred years the fate of France.

Henry's
reign a criti-
cal one.

National
character in
relation to
national
institutions.

Such a speculation may be a mere flight of fancy, but it accords in its main features with the facts of history, and if there be such a thing as national character it must be closely connected with national institutions. In one state of society they grow out of it ; in another it is fashioned by them until it seems to grow out of them : they develop together in a free state, in a subject one they affect one another by assimilation or opposition according to the nature and duration of the pressure.

Fusion of
Anglo-Saxon
and Norman
elements.

What is merely a probable speculation at the best, in regard of character, is, however, a true story applied to institutions. The Anglo-Saxon and the Norman institutions had been actually in a state of fusion since the conquest, and the reign of Henry gave to the united systems the character which has developed into the English constitution. It destroyed the undue preponderance of one power in the State over the others ; it secured the firm position of the central force, and it opened the way for

the growth of wealth in social security; it prevented England from falling under a military monarchy, or into a feudal anarchy; it so balanced the forces existing in the State as to give to each its opportunity of legitimate development. Magna Charta could never have been won by lawless barons for a crushed and spiritless nation, nor would the people when they learned their strength have satisfied themselves with the moderate aims that contented the heroes of the thirteenth century, had they been left too early without restraint, or been kept under prolonged oppression. The Angevin kings, the Norman nobles, the English churls, the Roman clergy, become in one century the English people.

Henry's reign is regarded as the amalgamation.

The reign of Henry II. saw the end of feudalism, so far as it had ever prevailed in England, as a system of government; the executive power was taken altogether out of its hands; the military strength of it was subordinated to the general aims of government; the legislative capacities of the system were held in formal existence, but in practical abeyance, for better times and better administrators. Feudalism continued to exist legally as the machinery of land tenure, and morally in its more wholesome results as a principle of national cohesion and the discipline of loyalty.

He extinguishes the remains of feudalism in the government.

During the ninety years that followed the conquest in England, three distinct interests were either in active conflict or in passive opposition: that of the royal power, that of the Norman feudatories, and that of the people.

Three influences in opposition from 1066 to 1154.

The fourth interest, that of the clergy, does not in this view assume the prominence which it exhibited later on. It is doubtless true that the privileges of the church in the Norman era should be considered as the franchises of the people;¹ it was through the clergy only that the voice of the people could be heard. From the unity of the national church the unity of the kingdom had itself

What was the position of the church?

¹ Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, iv. 169.

Earlier and
present
importance
of the
position of
the clergy.

sprung, and the liberties of the church were almost the only liberties that were left under the change of dynasty. Nor can we forget that in the English constitution, that system which it was the Conqueror's object to retain and administer by his own vassals, far the most important place was given to the clergy, the prelates being by virtue of their spiritual character the chief members of the royal council, and the archbishop of Canterbury occupying a position co-ordinate with royalty itself. The king was not a king until he was crowned, and before he was crowned he must bind himself to maintain the liberties of the church and to act by the counsel of the primate.

The actual
and theo-
retical
standing
points of the
clergy dur-
ing this
period were
not the
same :
Anselm and
Becket
occupied
one, the
majority of
the clergy
another.

For these reasons the Church of England even more than the churches of the continent was in a position to enforce her claims as "the pillar and ground of the truth," as the upholder of righteousness in a degraded and most licentious court, and as the sole monument and bulwark of liberty in an oppressed people. And this consideration gives to the position of Anselm, and even of Thomas Becket, a dignity and a constitutional importance which the particular points for which they contended did not involve. But their position as yet was morally rather than politically definite. It would be to shut our eyes to the plain truth of facts if we were to view the action of Anselm or Thomas as the action of either church or people. The bishops and higher clergy were for the most part on the king's side, appointed to their places as the rewards of services done to him, or as safe instruments of his policy. The king's court and chapel, full of ecclesiastics, represented the actual status of the clergy at the time more truly than Anselm or Thomas, even with the national spirit of the monasteries at their back. The freedom of the church only on occasions and emergencies appeared as a real thing. The counsel of the primate might be given, but it depended on the will of the king and the influence of his court whether or no it should

be taken. Lanfranc and Theobald could influence even William Rufus and Henry II.; Anselm and Thomas, men probably of more force of character, though not more righteous and earnest, took a different course and signally failed.

The constitutional action of the church had yet to be revived and developed, and it owed much more to Hubert Walter and Stephen Langton than to the two saints of the twelfth century. The personal quarrel of William Rufus and Anselm, and the contest on investitures under Henry I., had not a direct bearing on the national life, and tended, especially the latter, which had its origin in circumstances external to England, to place matters on a false issue. Throughout the period the higher clergy ruled with the king, and the lower suffered with the people. The baronial importance of the bishops, and the distinct recognition of the interest of the clerical estate, apart from the king and nobles, date from the later years of Henry I. and the reign of Stephen. Roger of Salisbury and Henry of Blois may be regarded as the founders of the secular as S. Anselm was of the ecclesiastical independence of the clergy. They were in different ways the precursors of Thomas Becket, who combined singularly the worst political qualities of the three. But the importance of the Becket quarrel itself was greater in its indirect consequences than in its simple political issue, and its interest is rather moral or personal than constitutional.

Of the three temporal interests, those of the king, the barons, and the people, the first occupies the chief place in considering the external history of England, the third in the investigation of the internal; but they had this in common, that their real aims were the same, the consolidation and good government of the country; whilst the position of the barons, their selfish aims and foreign aspirations, were as dangerous to the crown as they were in effect oppressive to the people.

The constitutional action of the church is really of more importance at a later period.

The interests of the king and people were now one against that of the barons.

The Conqueror did not intend to reproduce in England the state of things that existed in France.

One benefit which England gained from being conquered by a French vassal was doubtless this, that she was secured from ever falling into the condition in which France then was. The Conqueror, as a statesman, saw that it would never answer his purpose to suffer the existence in England of the class of vassals to which he himself belonged. The king of England should never be subject to the sort of influences which he himself and his fellow feudatories had exercised over the kings of France. In this stage of history every limitation of the power of the nobles was an extension of the liberty of the people. It became very different afterwards, when the power of the crown was established, and a new nobility sprang up under different conditions, with the will to be the leaders and to care for the interests of the nation ; but this belongs to a later period than the reign of Henry II.

What amount of feudalism was introduced by William ?

William the Conqueror may be said in a general way, with sufficient correctness, to have introduced feudalism into England, that is, he most probably reduced the land tenures to feudal principles universally, his military establishment in his later years was feudal, his ministers were chosen from among his great vassals, or were rewarded with great fiefs, and, so far as he allowed any legislative action independent of or co-ordinate with his own, such legislative action, being exercised by men whose position was owing to their feudal rights, was of a feudal character.

His restrictions on the development of feudal tendencies.

But it was no part of his system that the executive power should be administered by feudal officers. This may be considered as proved by the common arguments : first ; the fact that by dividing the possessions of those nobles whose services he was obliged to reward on feudal principles, and by requiring the oath of allegiance to himself to be taken by all freeholders throughout the country, he endeavoured to avoid raising up a class of vassals such as existed in France and Germany, where the sovereign was simply *primus inter pares*, or more

truly the servant of his own servants. The second argument is based on the amount of subordinate organization which he retained from the ancient Anglo-Saxon institutions.

The nobles who accompanied William were not likely to fall in with such a plan. For feudal reciprocity in its proper sense they might have had little or no favour, but they had existed for several generations under feudal principles and they were in a manner acclimatized to the air of France.

The very different views of the barons.
1. Their feudal notions.
2. Their pride of race.

But the root of the matter lay deeper far than the incrustation of feudalism. The pride of race was strong within them. It was a confederation of Norsemen that had placed Rollo and his successors on the throne of Normandy. It was a confederation of volunteer vassals, in whom the spirit of the Vikings had revived, that mustered the fleet and army which won the kingdom of England. William might be to the English the testamentary heir of the Confessor; to the French the mightiest vassal of the crown; but to his own followers he was the head of the race, the duke of the Normans, rather than the king of England or the count of Rouen. If he was primus they were pares, most of them of purer descent, many of them of equal origin: his actual primacy he owed chiefly to his personal character.

William's position due to his personal character;

Further, the early troubles of his reign in the duchy had considerably diminished the number of true Norman nobles, and this had the effect of concentrating the greater fiefs in the hands of his own relations. Both these things contributed to the maintenance of his personal authority, whilst they left the difficulties of the situation to his successors, with whom the bonds of influence and relationship were weaker, and who had to contend with a body of nobles who were becoming fiercer and prouder as they became fewer.

and to his family connexions; causes which were less effective in the case of his successors.

These men were ready enough to take advantage of such points of feudalism as favoured their own independence. Why should they not occupy to the crown

Pride of
race and
conquest in
the barons.

which had been won by their exertions the same position that they saw the counts of Champagne and Vermandois and the dukes of Normandy and Burgundy bearing to the crown of France, whose wearer was their near kinsman, and far less indebted to them for his position? Nor were they unworthy to be the equals of kings, much less of French vassals, who counted among their inferior members the house of Hauteville which was giving law to Italy and threatening the Eastern empire.

2. Their
pretensions
favoured by
the condi-
tion of the
conquered
country.

There was much, moreover, in the condition of the conquered country which might seem to favour the claims of the nobles to feudal independence. England under the Confessor had been broken up into great earldoms or satrapies, each containing many shires, and in fact representing in some measure one of the ancient kingdoms of the Heptarchy. Each earl governed by authority directly delegated by the sovereign, and was supreme in his earldom, both in war and in peace: but the dignity was not necessarily hereditary, and although probably given in theory for the life of the grantee, was subject to the conditions of promotion and degradation. The exact parallel for this state of things must be sought in the contemporary condition of Germany and in a much earlier condition of France. But the main point of separate independent jurisdiction strongly resembled the feudal division of the latter country. It would have been the most natural thing in the world for Hugh of Avranches, Roger Montgomery, or William Fitz Osbern to have taken the place of Tostig, Swegen, and Leofric. The urgency with which the local franchises of the Anglo-Saxon lords were pressed by the Norman barons to the exaltation of their own privileges may serve to show that had the chance been given them they would have gladly claimed the greater jurisdictions on a like plea. As it was, they found themselves in relation to the royal power, in a position actually less influential than that which had been occupied by the Anglo-Saxon earls. They had conquered England for William not for them-

selves. William's own measures shows that he foresaw the results of this; but his sons had the first experience of its working. In the attempt to set aside the male line of the ducal house in the rebellion of 1095 may be traced the principle of the equality and confederation of the race, as well as an attempt to assert for the great vassals the independence of feudal princes. Robert Mowbray expiated his rebellion by a life-long captivity, but until the Norman nobility became extinct he never lacked imitators.

With this deeply-seated feeling of insubordination was closely connected the jealousy with which the nobles regarded the king's ministers. Under the Conqueror, whose most faithful adherents were men of his own blood, acknowledging in him the source of their fortune and the pre-eminence of strength, we find few complaints of the aggrandizement of insignificant officers. William's servants were in fact chosen either from the nobles themselves or from the clergy, whom the close union of secular and ecclesiastical supremacy in the friendship of the king and Lanfranc kept in their places, and from whose number the notoriously unworthy were for the most part excluded. Under William Rufus begin the complaints of unworthy favourites and ignoble ministers, and at the very same time the difficulties with the clergy, and the revolutionary attempts of the great vassals. Both the clergy, so far as Anselm represented them, and the vassals, aimed at a position to which, on the analogy of other countries, they felt themselves entitled, although they had never yet possessed it: the king's only possible agents in opposing their attempts were the ministers whom he had chosen, and whom gratitude and community of interest attached to him and his policy. If these men did not content themselves with hindering the aggrandizements of the nobles and clergy, but actually tried to drive them from the vantage ground which in the exigencies of the conquest had been accorded to them, there is nothing sur-

4. Their jealousy of the ministers of the crown.

prising in the fact that they were even more obnoxious to their opponents than was the king himself.

5. The disputes about the succession had shaken the attachment of the nobles to the king.

For to the difficulties which the very existence of the Norman feudatories, with their notions of race and of French feudalism, brought to the royal power, must be added certain weak points in the position of the crown itself. With the life of William I. ceased the unity of Norman feeling in England. Almost immediately on the accession of William Rufus the question of succession emerged, and with it division. Robert of Normandy had his adherents if he had had the will or energy to use them. Stephen of Aumale was the favourite of another and that a very powerful section of the barons. On the death of William Rufus the claims of Robert were asserted, and so far maintained as to compel Henry to enter into an alliance with the subject race. On Henry's death followed the divisions between the parties of Stephen of Blois and Matilda, and later on between the Norman and Angevin parties among Matilda's adherents. In all these divisions the nobles had ranged themselves sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other: they had contracted enmities and reconciled them, formed friendships and broken them: hardly any house had uniformly acted on the same principle, and consequently hardly any had not at some time found itself in opposition to the royal authority.¹ Thus the principle of attachment to the king had grown weaker and the love of independence stronger: the right of private war and of separate alliances had been exerted if not vindicated, and it was fortunate indeed for the royal power that it had been wielded by strong hands, or

¹ "Heralds tell us that the shield of the traitorous knight is to be reversed. Had this law of chivalry been observed in Normandy, would not the beautiful stained glass glowing in the rich church windows have looked

"oddly? the majority of the emblazonments turned upside down, unless a double infidelity authorised Sir Knight to turn his shield right up again." Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, iv. 256.

England must have fallen altogether, as it did in Stephen's reign, into chronic anarchy. Fortunately also the internal feuds divided and weakened the nobles themselves and diminished their numbers, so that for Henry of Anjou there was left a not altogether hopeless prospect of consolidating a strong government.

But they had also divided them among themselves.

Henry came to the destructive part of his work with great advantages. He was for the most part untrammelled by Norman traditions and associations. He did not owe his crown to the swords of Norman warriors, but to the support of the clergy given to the indisputable and undisputed claim which had been won for him by earl Robert of Gloucester, the bastard son of his grandfather, who for all practical purposes was an Englishman. Henry himself was an Angevin, and the interests of his Angevin subjects were never likely to come into dangerous collision with his designs or prospects as king of England.

Henry not bound to the Normans or their policy.

The Normans had been indeed the enemies of his father and his paternal house, and but lukewarm supporters of his mother. But if there were few ties of personal friendship or of common natural feeling to be broken before the task of demolishing the rival interest was begun, there were also few incitements to personal hatred such as might embitter the contest or endanger the result. The struggle from the beginning was political rather than personal, and throughout it was rather the power than the estates or the persons of his enemies that Henry laboured to secure.¹ We read during his reign of none of the great and startling confiscations which before the

His struggle with the barons not embittered by personal feeling.

¹ There is a very important passage in Ralph de Diceto, 570, too long to transcribe. He states that the partizans of the younger Henry were chiefly those on whom the hand of the father had fallen heavily, "quia rex pater, regis titulos dignitatis ampliari procurans . . .

"castella patrie suspecta vel everteret, vel in suam redigeret potestatem, bonorum occupatores quæ suam ad mensam quasi ad fiscum ab antiquo pertinere noscuntur, patrimonio proprio contentos esse debere assereret et etiam cogeret, &c."

No great
forfeitures.

He had at
first an
easy task in
humbling
the barons
and dis-
mantling
the castles.

He was thus
enabled to
fortify.

death of Henry I. had fallen on almost every one of the great families sprung from the companions of the Conqueror.¹

The experience of the anarchy of the last reign had taught the nation generally to wish for a strong government, and the evils of it were so patent and indisputable that the policy of the new king, coinciding as it did for the most part with the provisions of the treaty by which the crown was secured to him, was acquiesced in at first with very little difficulty. The castles of the smaller tyrants were speedily dismantled,² and with them their power of doing mischief was annihilated. It was only on the marches that resistance was offered, and before the end of the first year of the reign Hugh de Mortimer was brought to submit³ and William of Aumale deprived of his last stronghold. The Scots restored the northern provinces which had been won in the name of Matilda.⁴ England welcomed peace and prepared to accept the reforms which alone could strengthen her internal union and enable her to defend and extend her borders. The king was at liberty to carry on alternately his measures of domestic legislation and his plans of foreign policy.

¹ "Testantur hoc Normannorum
"proceres, alii capti, alii incarce-
"rati, alii exheredati in hodiernum
"diem." Joh. Salisb. Polier. vi. 18.
² "Mox castella nova quæ in
"diebus avi sui nequaquam existi-
"terant complanari præcepit, præ-
"ter pauca in locis opportunis sita
"quæ vel ipse retinere, vel a paci-
"ficis ad regni munimen retineri
"voluit." W. Newb. ii. 1.

³ Roger of Gloucester gave in about May; Hugh de Mortimer on the 7th of July; R. de Monte, ad 1155; Gervase, 1378. Henry destroyed Clebury Castle, the property of Mortimer, and on Roger's death retained the earldom of Here-

ford in his own hands. In the winter he seized the castles belonging to the bishop of Winchester. On his return to England in 1157, he took into his hands the castles of Hugh Bigot, and the holdings which had been conferred on William the son of Stephen at Pevensey and in Norfolk by the treaty of Westminster. Brompton, 1038; R. de Monte, ad 1157.

⁴ In 1157. R. de Monte, ad ann.
"Aquilones Angliæ regiones . . .
"nomine Matildis dictæ impera-
"trix et hæredis ejus olim a David
"Scottorum rege adquisitas." W. Newburgh, ii. 4.

His presence was for several years scarcely required in England, where he had shown both the strength of his hand and the real moderation of his aims.

But the shock which followed the quarrel and death of Thomas Becket gave the signal for the resuscitation of the slumbering elements of discord, and the rebellion of Henry and Richard in 1173 afforded occasion for the outbreak which nothing but the personal abilities of the king and his ministers prevented from becoming a revolution.

It was still, if we may judge of it by the ordinary rules of evidence, far more a political than a personal conflict. Nearly all the great earls both in Normandy and in England were engaged on the side of the princes. Those of Chester, Leicester, Norfolk, Huntingdon, and Ferrers; the king of Scotland, the great baron of Mowbray, Hamo de Masci, Richard de Morville, and Geoffrey of the Cotentin, representing the remnant of the party of the conquest: men and families who had never before found themselves on the same side, united against the king.

In Normandy the great feudatories of the duchy, many of whom had large estates in England, were bound up both in cause and in kindred with the English rebels. The count of Meulan was the head of the Norman Beaumonts, as the earl of Leicester was of the English: the Counts of Eu and Evreux¹ represented junior branches of the ducal house; those of Alençon and Ponthieu the heirs of

¹ The right of garrisoning the baronial castles was a chief prerogative of the dukes of Normandy, and a source of constant soreness with the great vassals. In 1161 Henry seized the castles of the count of Meulan and other Norman barons. In 1166 those of the counts of Ponthieu and Sees; those of the Lusignans in 1165; those of the Leoncôis

in 1171. In the same year he doubled the revenues of the duchy of Normandy by resuming lands which had been detained since the death of Henry I. All the nobles who suffered this treatment are found in arms against Henry. Cf. R. de Monte, 1159, 1161, 1164, 1166.

Unfaithful
vassals in
Normandy.

Robert of Bellesme. The earl of Chester held the hereditary viscounties of Bayeux and Avranches. All these were marshalled against king Henry. Arnulf bishop and count of Lisieux played in Normandy the same double game that his fellow count bishop Hugh of Puiset was doing in England. William of Aumale, who like Hugh of Puiset was closely connected with the house of Champagne, and had to revenge the loss of his almost regal power north of the Humber, after a mock defence yielded his whole continental possessions to the insurgents.¹

The king
had a party
of his own
relations
and a few
nobles,

On Henry's side were the earls of Cornwall, Warren, Gloucester,² and Arundel, all closely connected with him by birth or marriage, and the earl of Essex, William de Mandeville, whose tie was that of simple honour and gratitude. Strongbow earl of Striguil,³ the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and Northampton were on the same side ; but Strongbow's chief interest now was in Ireland, and the others were either in possessions or in character insignificant. The strength of the royal party consisted first of those who had risen to importance as the ministers of Henry's reforms, and secondly of the people, who had benefited by them ; Ranulf Glanvill and Richard de Lucy at the head of the freemen of the country, supported by the Stutevilles, the Umfravilles, and others who had become more thoroughly English than the greater barons.

but its
strength lay
in the minis-
ters and
people.

The bishops
were faith-
ful.

The whole of the bishops both in Normandy and in England remained loyal ; only Hugh ⁴ and Arnulf tried to be on both sides at once.

The sources of disaffection in Aquitaine and Poitou were of the same sort as those in Normandy and England,

¹ R. de Diceto, 571.

² Yet even the earl of Gloucester was suspected both now and in 1183, and his son-in-law, the earl of Clare. R. de Dic. 578.

³ Strongbow was, however, present with Henry in France. R. de Dic. 572.

⁴ R. de Dic. 573.

but in those countries the cause owed, as in Brittany, somewhat of its character to the influences of nationality and to the personal popularity of the princes.

What pretexts were alleged by the barons as the cloak of the real causes of discontent does not appear.¹ In spite of the strength of their numbers and mass, and in spite of the real unity of their interest, they had no organization, they had no bill of grievances, no head and no watchword. The whole rising bears the character of a simple reaction against the pressure of strong government; a reaction the opportunity of which was so obvious as to strike all alike, and to call even without concert all the subject forces into motion; but the only definite purpose of which was to create a confusion out of which the strongest hand might pluck advantage. The odds were apparently dead against the king. The rebels could hardly have calculated, considering the immense extent of the area of disaffection, the importance of the leaders, the alliance of the kings of France and Scotland, and the open adherence of queen Eleanor and her sons, on a result which would strengthen the royal power and exalt beyond precedent the personal importance of Henry.

The whole rebellion was crushed in a few months, and so thoroughly that the good fortune of the king seemed to his contemporaries more astonishing than even his skill and energy. The king of Scotland, the earls of Chester and Leicester were prisoners, the earls Ferrers and Bigot

The rebels
had no
common
cause.

The rebel-
lion speedily
crushed.

¹ Sir Francis Palgrave says of the rising of the Norman barons against Robert in 1087, "Could the barons have patronised a chronicler of their own, this continued turbulence might have been described as a patriotic struggle to regain their lawful independence. Under William, however, they

"had really sustained no grievance except the necessity of submitting to the law." *Normandy and England*, iv. 25. The same may be said almost exactly of this rebellion. Compare also the condition of Normandy under Robert (ib. 231) with that of England under Stephen.

Henry's
position
strengthened.

and Mowbray vieing with one another in haste to surrender, Henry found himself in firmer possession of the strongholds of the country than he had been even in 1156.¹

He abstains
from severe
punishment;

It is difficult to say to what the barons owed their immunity from punishment, if it were not the certainty that it was safer to humble than to destroy them; safest of all, while disarming the system that upheld them² to win them by moderation, kindness, and confidence.³

but takes
and keeps
the castles
of the
country.

In the year 1176 the king took into his own hands all the castles of England and Normandy; ⁴ he did not even except the castle of Ongar which belonged to the faithful Richard de Lucy. Those of the earls of Chester, Leicester, and Norfolk, with those of Roger Mowbray, he dismantled. But early in the following year he restored the offending earls to their estates, the castles excepted, of which two only belonging to the earl of Leicester and one of the earl of Chester's remained standing.

Measures
for retain-
ing his
hold on
the castles.

That the policy of disarmament might not be evaded, the precautions of law were superadded. The justices in itinere were instructed in 1176 to take cognizance of the warderships of all the castles that were suffered to stand, and to enforce the complete demolition of the condemned ones. At the council of Geddington in 1177, the custodians of all the Northern castles were removed, and from this time the maintenance of the royal grasp on these strongholds was regarded as a distinct object of policy.

¹ "Sic in brevi pene rebelles
" omnes obtinuit, ut longe fortius
" quam prius ex eo quo infirmari
" debuit, confirmaretur in regno."
Dialogus de Scacc. p. 38.

² He immediately destroyed the
castles of the rebels. R. de Dic.
585.

³ Gir. Camb. De Inst. Pr. ii. 3.
" Inter ipsos triumphales eventus,
" summam clementiam . . . con-

" servavit." William of Newburgh
has a chapter on this, full as usual
of good sense, ii. 38, "Comprchensis
" insuper hostibus tam enormis
" sæculi incentoribus inaudita pe-
" percit misericordia, ut eorum
" pauci rerum suarum, nulli vero
" status sui vel corporum dispendia
" sustinerent." Dialogus, p. 38.

⁴ R. de Diceto, 594. Cf. 600.

Gradually all the offenders were restored to their territories, but the custody of the castles was withheld. The visitation of the castellanships was made a regular article of the commission of the judges, and the governors were frequently changed, so as to vest the posts gradually and entirely in the hands of the king's officers. The result was that England enjoyed internal peace for the remainder of the reign, and when in 1183 the rebellion of the princes threatened abroad to renew the terrible scenes of 1174, the simple measure of securing the persons of the suspected earls was sufficient, and was regarded as more than sufficient, to guarantee the tranquillity of the kingdom.

Measures
for retaining
the custody
of the
castles.

Less stirring in incident but far more important in their effects on the life of the nation were the measures by which Henry built up the civil portions of his design of consolidation. They do not occupy the same space in the pages of the historians, and have yet to be investigated with the whole apparatus of archæological research: for they lie for the most part within the unpopular region of legal antiquities. But the most superficial view of the politics of the age would be not merely imperfect, but glaringly false, without some attempt to describe them.

Sketch of
Henry's
civil re-
forms.

In this respect as well as in the former Henry came to the crown with great advantages: he succeeded to the policy of the Conqueror and Henry I., and inherited the wisest and most faithful servants of the latter. It was in his favour also, that following on a period of anarchy his reforms were not restricted to a simple restitution of the past, but with the restoration of government he might almost at will develop and extend its expedients. His general policy seems to have been a thorough development, in the direction of national life and unity, of the principles which had appeared in germ in the selfish policy of his predecessors.

His advantages in inheriting the old policy with a new position that enabled him to develop it his own way.

It is I think strictly true to say that the actual alteration of the institutions of the country which took place

Overstatement of the effects of

the Con-
quest. Two
views of it.

A third
view.

The feudal
and allodial
systems.

Comparison
of the two.

at the conquest has been generally as much overstated on the one side as underrated on the other. One school of historical writers sees in the Norman policy very little more than a crystallization of a process which was going on rapidly in the same direction during the last century of Anglo-Saxon rule; the other regards it as a complete subversion of both persons and institutions. I believe the truth to be that the plan of the Conqueror was simply to dovetail a feudal superstructure into the fundamental framework of the Anglo-Saxon polity.

That there was nothing radically inconsistent in the two systems is historically clear; both sprang from the same home in the Teutonic forests. The allodial or Saxon system was that of the Germans at home, the feudal or Frank system was their policy as settlers and conquerors.¹ William came with a band of feudal nobles to a free people; his nobles might continue to be feudal and his people might continue to be free.

In the Anglo-Saxon system the strength of the fabric was, as I have said before, in the lower ranges of the organism. The cohesion was weakest as the pyramid should have risen to an apex. In the feudal system the cohesion was the strongest above; the principle of unity was fidelity to the superior, not the maintenance of the distinct freedom of the individual by voluntary association. At the foundation of the former was liberty, at that of the latter serfdom. The common medium was land, the possession of which was in the allodial system the proof of freedom, in the feudal the occasion of service.

¹ I do not mean by this remark to ignore the admixture of Roman usages in the feudal customs. The *beneficiary* principle, from which most of the peculiarities of feudalism rise, owed its origin to the German system of the "gesiths" of the

princes, but its details and applications grew up after the conquerors had come within the influence of the civil law. Cf. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 77, 495, &c., who goes even further in ascribing it to the Roman law.

The feudal system was the exponent of the views of the rulers, the allodial of those of the nation.

To William the Conqueror, as indeed probably to the later Anglo-Saxon kings, the feudal system was doubtless the model system of government: to William it was the only one experimentally known. But it did not follow that it was to be forced in all its details on an unwilling people. He intended to be king of England, the king of the nation as well as the conqueror of the crown; and whatever were the designs of William Rufus and Henry I., Henry II. followed in the steps of his greater ancestor. Why could not a system be devised which should unite the strength and unity of the higher institutions of feudalism with the strength and unity of the lower institutions of the ancient system? True the principle of allodial tenure was to be extinguished, this had been done in a great measure before the conquest, but the institutions of the system might be retained. The feudal tenure was to be universally enforced, but feudal jurisprudence was not inseparable from it. In Normandy itself the lower organization of the feudal theory had never been carried into details or actually displaced the original institutions of the subject population.¹

Was it possible to raise up a great feudal nobility that would be all powerful in dependence on and in defence of the crown, but unwieldy and unmanageable if an attempt should be made to use it against the sovereign? Would it be possible to maintain the characteristic institutions of the English nation in integrity for all purposes of peace, justice, and security?

By the forfeitures of the great Saxon earldoms in 1066 and 1070, William was enabled at once to secure the former object. By the distribution of their estates and dignities he created a new nobility on the ruins of the old, which would be collectively strong, but would have as its

¹ Cf. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 549.

He creates
a new admin-
istrative
system.

Partial
success of
his plan.

Complete
success of
Henry II.'s.

The Con-
queror
retained
many of
the Anglo-
Saxon insti-
tutions.

The spirit
of his
changes.

sole principle of union the maintenance of that central power from which it had received its existence. The same event, by removing the cumbersome superstructure of the Anglo-Saxon system, enabled him to substitute for the ealdorman and sheriff ministers subject immediately to himself, and so to retain in his own hands the administration of justice and the sinews of war, the national revenue and the national militia. But could such a constitution be lasting? The Norman kings tried the experiment and with partial success. They succeeded in creating a feudal nobility, but not so far as to give the institution that unity and national spirit in which only it could become consolidated with the mass of the state. It was not until the Norman nobility was thoroughly humbled and disabled that internal peace was secured under the strong hand of Henry II. The same strong hand and active versatile mind must be traced in the administrative changes which at last brought the whole system of the country, judicial, military, and fiscal, under the control of the central government.

William the Conqueror retained in great measure both the laws and the judicial system of the earlier kings. He rather enforced than relaxed the observance of the frankpledge,¹ and the authority of the hundred and shire mote; trial by compurgation, the ordeal and the wergild. Merchenalage, Danelage, and Westseaxnalage still continued in their diversity; the few Norman legal customs which he introduced were for the Normans only. But the sheriff ceased to be even in theory the elected president of the shiremote, and became the viccount, as his superior the ealdorman had passed through the intermediate stage of earlship into the Norman count. The change in this point was indeed rather in name than in reality, for the sheriff had as well as the ealdorman become a royal

¹ Cf. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 201, and *Normandy and England*, iii. 600, &c.

officer long before the conquest.¹ But the theory still was that he was an elective one, and some form of acceptance in the folkmote may have preserved the tradition of a time when it actually was so. But although the name of vicecomes now becomes the equivalent of scyrgerefa,² it signifies no real dependence on or derivation of authority from the earl. He was the king's representative, judicial, fiscal, and military, in the shire. The earl has his third penny, but the authority rests with the sheriff: the earl may be sheriff himself, but he administers the shire as sheriff, not as earl. So the magistrate of the hundred becomes a bailiff; the court of the hundred with its pleas and profits is granted away to the feudal castellan;³ the view of frankpledge is severed from the sheriff's tourn and leet and made one of the rights of the feudal manor.

The sheriff
in theory a
popular,
in fact a
royal officer.

Change of
names.

The retention of this lower machinery involved the retention of the ancient process of jurisdiction. In this, at least in its subordinate arrangements, the conquest produced little change except in the substitution of Norman for English names and persons. But the position of the Norman baron in the office of sheriff differed from that of the Anglo-Saxon thane. The latter had his sok and sok, tol and them, outfangtheof and infangtheof, and to these the Norman gladly put in the claim of succession: but the Norman had besides, his barony in Normandy which he governed by strict Norman law, to the process of which, as giving more power to himself, he naturally inclined to assimilate that of the English courts in which he held either a personal or a ministerial presidency. The office of sheriff was in many cases hereditary and in almost all was vested in some important feudal noble.

Lower
courts and
their pro-
cesses re-
tained.

Introduc-
tion of
Norman
processes.

There were thus co-existing in the country three

¹ See Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 128.

On the relation between the earl and the sheriff, and the deriva-

tion of the word vicecomes; see Madox's note on the *Dialogus*, p. 31.

³ *Dialogus de Scaccario*, p. 42.

Three
systems of
co-ordinate
jurisdic-
tions.

distinct systems of lower jurisdiction, exclusive of the ecclesiastical courts. I. The ancient courts of the hundred and the shire, popular in origin and process and coeval probably with Anglo-Saxon civilization ; presided over by magistrates whose election was claimed by the suitors, and which, although the claim was obsolete, were distinguished by the fact, and perhaps in some legal particulars, from those tribunals in which the king was recognized as the sole fountain of justice. II. There were secondly the jurisdictions of the ancient franchises, exercised by the lords who had succeeded to the estates whose ancient owners had possessed sak and sok. III. Thirdly there were the strictly feudal courts of the manors, organized by the new nobility of the conquest.

Difficulty of
obtaining
and en-
forcing
justice.

The joint existence of these systems was a cause of perplexity to justice, for not only were their proper provinces and matters of litigation as yet far from being accurately divided, but their very existence afforded a basis for aggression, and a court which was intended as a resource in times of peace for civil disputes might easily, and did in the reign of Stephen, come in troublous times to be used for the purposes of oppression and exaction. That the persons who exercised these several jurisdictions were in many cases the same, added an element of uncertainty to the attainment of justice and a temptation to indiscriminate tyranny.

The means
of obtaining
equal and
uniform
justice.

The natural and proper method of diminishing the evil was to retain in the popular courts as much as possible of the popular process, to limit the exercise of the old franchises,¹ and to hinder the extension of the new ones, regulating the whole by the appointment of superior judges and avoiding the nomination of those persons as sheriffs whose feudal position was such as to make it likely that they would import into their ministerial jurisdictions the principles they exercised in their feudal

¹ On the limitations of the franchises, see Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 211, &c.

demesnes, to the detriment of justice and the furtherance of selfish aims.¹

To Henry II we owe the framework of a uniform and equal judicial system, and a general and authoritative enunciation of the principles of the common law.

Henry II.
as a legis-
lator.

There is no occasion to look for a precedent for the institution of itinerant justices in the *missi dominici* of Charles the Great, or in the measures of Lewis the Fat. The theory of a travelling tribunal had been familiarized to the English by the judicial eyres of the Anglo-Saxon kings and by the three annual placita of the Conqueror. Nor was it merely the highest remedial jurisdiction in the person or court of the sovereign that had thus brought justice within reach of each region of the kingdom. Special commissions had been frequently issued for particular purposes.² The barons of the ex-

His judicial
reforms.
I. Itinerant
justices.

Judicial
eyres no
novelty.

¹ This preference of *novi homines* for offices of trust, and discarding of the great feudatories who had shown themselves unworthy of it, is a point on which Ralph Niger exaggerates greatly: "*Servos, spurios, caligatos, cubili, mensæ, regno præfecit, et ex iis quæsttores, prætores, proconsules, tribunos, municipales, forestarios super provincias constituit.*" By the word *spurios*, Geoffrey is possibly referred to: the rest is false. The families from which Lucy, Glanville, and the other faithful ministers of Henry sprang, were equal in all but wealth to those of the great earls. Yet even Ordericus Vitalis speaks of the Bassets as upstarts, although the noblest of the Normans could hardly boast of a pedigree a century old. There was a great pride of race amongst them, but in their relations with one another wealth and power were the only real differences. Ralph continues, "*Il-*

lustres ignominii oneratos, sed cæteris rebus vacuos, patrimoniis omnino privavit, vel subdole portionibus detractis decrustando sensim adnihilavit." A punishment in most cases richly deserved, but by no means really inflicted. "*Ex cubiculariis et aula nugatoriis episcopos, abbates, factos auctoritate propria ad officium apparitorum revocavit, et quem præsulem crearat ex præside, in præsidatum recreavit ex præsule.*" A statement, with the exception of his son Geoffrey, altogether false. R. Niger, ed. Anstruther, p. 167.

² The famous assize of Huncote in 1124 must have been more than this: "*Thes ilces geares æfter S. Andreas messe toforen Christes messe held Raulf Basset and thes kinges thæines gewitene mot on Lethcæstre scire at Hunde-hoge and ahengen thær swa fela thefas swa næfre ær ne wæron.*" Chr. Sax. ad ann. 1124.

Fiscal eyres. chequer were also the judges of the king's court, and it might seem a simple step to add to the assessment of tallages, which was the object of their fiscal journeys, a portion of the judicial work which would otherwise come before them in the supreme court. Much obscurity hangs over the subject. It is certain that there were judicial eyres¹ early in the twelfth century, but the functions and exact status of the judges cannot be defined. We can only guess that they were the officers of the king's court, and that their functions were limited as much by the demand for their services as by the terms of their commission. Most suits must have been decided in the county courts before the sheriffs; in some cases there seem to be traces of the establishment of provincial judges superior to the sheriffs:² but further litigation must have been expensive, laborious, and dilatory. We do not even know at what period the more important pleas of the crown were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the sheriff, but as it was not later than the reign of Henry I., we may safely ascribe to him the mission of occasional judges who were

Early judicial eyres.

The county courts.

Henry I. employed justices in itinere.

¹ The language of John of Salisbury, *Policrat.* v. 15, is obscure. "Quæ vero de præsidibus, aliisque judicibus dicta sunt, debent et apud proconsules quos nostrates vulgariter dicunt justitias esse errantes, obtinere." It may refer either to the sheriffs or to the fiscal journeys of the officers of the exchequer, as he goes on to charge them with extortion. This book was written between 1159 and 1162, too early, therefore, to refer to any of Henry's reformed institutions, unless we suppose it to have been re-written at a later period. William FitzStephen mentions the justitiiarii itinerantes as being at Dunstable before 1163. *S. T. C.* i. 214. Simon FitzPeter, who was the judge on

that occasion, was the sheriff of Bedfordshire. Roger Pontign., *S. T. C.* i. 114. Cf. Grim. *S. T. C.* i. 23. Cf. *R. de Dic.* 536. *Const. Clar.*

² On this point the opinions of legal antiquaries give a uniform negative, but it is difficult to see what was the position of William Espec and Eustace FitzJohn (who were not itinerant judges but great resident barons and castellans), in Yorkshire, in the Pipe Roll of 31 Hen. I., if it were not of this sort: nor the meaning of the charter of the empress Matilda, by which she makes Geoffrey de Mandeville not only sheriff but chief justice in Essex. *Dugd. Baronage*, i. 202.

superior to the sheriffs, and whose jurisdiction was to review both the judicial and fiscal proceedings of the shire. The thorough organization of the details of this institution was one of the great works of his grandson. Henry II.
perfected
the system.

The year 1166 must be fixed upon as the date and the assize of Clarendon as the act which mark the first distinct appearance of this important reform.¹ The text of the assize was published first by Sir Francis Palgrave in the second volume of his history of the English Commonwealth,² from the royal manuscript of Hoveden, and is reprinted in a revised form in the appendix to this preface. I must be allowed to state my reasons for assigning it to the year 1166. Assize of
Clarendon
in 1166.

I. In the year 1176 Henry at a council at Northampton caused to be recorded and amended an assize called the assize of Clarendon ; and this revised edition as given in the present chronicle agrees in so many particulars with the document in question that there can be no doubt that it was the one referred to. Proof of
the date.

II. In the year 1170³ Henry made a visitation, by means of itinerant barons, of all the counties in England for the purpose of inquiry into the conduct of the sheriffs ;

¹ Various traces of earlier legislative acts in the same direction may be found in the loose language of the historians, especially William of Newburgh ; and as I shall show below, Henry seems to have restored the eyres of the judges, as practised in his grandfather's time, as soon as he began to reign. The following notice, as early as 1160, refers only to his continental dominions, but something of the same kind may have been done in England. "Anno 1160, rex Anglorum Henricus ad Natale Domini fuit apud Falesiam, et leges instituit ut nullus decanus aliquam personam accusaret sine testimonio vicino-

"rum circum manentium qui bonæ vitæ fama laudabiles haberentur. "De causis similiter quorum libet ventilandis instituit ut cum iudices singularum provinciarum singulis mensibus ad minus simul convenirent, sine testimonio vicinorum nihil judicarent, injuriam nemini facerent, præjudicium non irrogarent, pacem tenerent, latrones cunctos statim punirent, quæque quiete tenerent ecclesiæ suæ jura possiderent." R. de Monte, Bouquet, xiii. 304. This looks very like an instruction to the county court.

² ii. clxviii.-clxxi.

³ Gervase, 1410. S. T. C. ii. 262.

Proof of the
date of the
assize of
Clarendon.

one of the articles of their commission was to examine into the disposition of the goods of felons and fugitives under the assize of Clarendon. This assize was then of earlier date than 1170.

III. The assize itself contains in its last chapter a prohibition against the reception or protection of the heretics condemned in the Council of Oxford. This council was held in the king's presence in the January or February of 1166.¹

IV. But at the beginning of Lent, 1166 (March 3),² Henry left England, and did not return until 1170, when he immediately issued the commission for the Inquest of Sheriffs.

The assembly at which this assize was enacted must be referred, therefore, to a date between New Year's day and the first day of Lent, 1166.

Historical
notions of
the council.

A Council of Clarendon is mentioned by Edward Grim and by Roger of Pontigny, in which an oath was exacted from the bishops that they would not appeal to the pope. This is very probably the identical council at which the assize was passed, and may be fixed to the year 1166 by Grim's statement, that "*per idem quoque tempus*" the pope wrote to Roger of York a letter, dated at Anagni, April 5, 1166.³

For further confirmation of the date, we have recourse to the Pipe Rolls⁴ as the only existing records for any

¹ R. de Diceto, 539. "*Quidam pravi dogmatis disseminatores tracti sunt in iudicium apud Oxeneford, presente rege presentibus et episcopis. Quos a fide nostra devios et in examine superatos facies cauteriata notabiles cunctis exposuit expulsos a regno. Rex Angliæ transfretavit circa initium Quadragesimæ.*" If this council be the same as that described by William of Newburgh,

as held about 1160 or 1161, and they appear to be the same, the fact that the king was present at it, proves that he or his editor has given a wrong date. Henry was not in England from 1158 to 1163.

² R. de Dic. 539. Rot. Pip. A°. 12. Hamtona. See Madox's note on the *Dialogus*, p. 19

³ S. T. C. i. 55, 156. Jaffé, 708.

⁴ Pipe Roll, 12 Hen. II., Wilts. "*Pro conductu venationis regis*

indications of the royal movements at the time, and we are not disappointed, for the payments for the conveyance of the king's wine, venison, and harness show that he did in the twelfth year of his reign (therefore between Michaelmas, 1165, from which date the roll of the twelfth year began to be made up, and the beginning of Lent) move from London to Oxford, from Oxford to Woodstock, from Woodstock to Clarendon, and from Clarendon or Woodstock to Shoreham, whence it would seem certain that he embarked. The mention of the conveyance to Clarendon of the king's provers, and of the payment for wax and for the delivery of summonses, point unmistakably to the holding of a court of justice at the same place. The mention of the Oxford heretics in the assize, which gives them an importance far from proportionate to the real danger arising from their exertions, is a proof that it must have been drawn up under the immediate pressure of the excitement caused by the council, and before the real insignificance of the heresy had been proved by results.

Evidence of the Pipe Rolls as to a council at Clarendon.

That the Assize of Clarendon¹ really marks an im-

"de Chepeham ad Wudestoch, et
"pro conducendo vino regis de
"Clarendon ad Wudestoch."

"Et pro conducendo crasso pisce
"de Lundonia ad Clarendon vi. s.
"pro Edw. Bl. et Rogero Ostiario
"xiii. s. iv. d., ad port. summon.
"et xii. d. pro cera ad summonit. et
"pro pannis ad opus Henrici filii
"regis xvi. li. xiii. s. et x. d.; et
"pro custamento probatorum et pro
"conductu illorum ad Clarendon
"xlvi. s.; et pro una hugia ad
"port. harnesium regis ad Shorham
"et pro ipso harnesio viii. s. et
"x. d."

HANTS. "Et pro vinis regis et
"ipsis conducendis de Hantona ad
"Clarendon et ad Wudestoch et ad

"Sarum et ad Chepeham, &c. In
"liberatione Esmece quando rex
"transfretavit in quadagesima, etc.
"In passagio regis Scotie, Gau-
"fridi filii regis," &c.
"Pro conduc. sell. et harnes.
"regis de Wudestoch ad Shoreham
"xiii. s. et iv. d., et pro feno con-
"ducendo ad Wudestoch."

A reference to the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, pp. 10, 11, will show that these particulars belong to the holding of a court at Clarendon.

¹ The assize of Clarendon seems to be identical with the "arctior assisa quam rex propter sceleros constituit" of the *Dialogus*, p. 46; according to which the goods of "fugitives" were confiscated

This assize
is an im-
portant era
in legal
history.

portant judicial epoch, and is not merely a unique relic of a system which had been in silent operation for some time, may appear from the following considerations. In the first place the instructions have a retrospective view, and the point to which they look back is the commencement of the king's reign. They are not, as the famous Constitutions of Clarendon were, an enunciation of consuetudines, but both in form and substance a new legislative act, and the first chapter contains directions for an inquest into all cases of murder and robbery that had occurred, not since the last iter, but "postquam dominus rex fuit rex." The inquest of sheriffs in 1170,¹ on the other hand, directs the barons errant to inquire into the receipts of those officers since the king went abroad, a point of time coinciding with our supposed date of the Assize of Clarendon,² and the reference of the same inquest, and of the Assize of Northampton in 1176 to this assize, points to the inference that it was a distinctly recognized measure of reform. The oblivion into which the assize has fallen among the early historians may easily be accounted for by the superior importance which the Council of Clarendon of 1164 held in common estimation. We have no real contemporary historian of the

to the king. See ch. 5 and 18 of the Assize, and the Assize of Sheriffs, c. 6. It is called "Regia constitutio quæ est pro bono pacis." Dial. p. 48. It is well to observe that the chattels of fugitives are accounted for earlier than 1166 in some instances, as in Northumberland, Rot. Pip. 10 & 11 Hen. II.; (and Cf. Const. Clarendon, xiv., which shows that the confiscation of the goods of felons was already in use), but that the chattels of those "qui perierunt in iudicio aquæ," "fugitivorum et eorum qui perierunt ad aquam," begin

to be accounted for in the rolls of the 12th of Henry II. The roll of the 15th mentions the Assize of Clarendon by name, "Idem vicecomes reddit compotum de catalis fugitivorum et suspensorum per assisam de Clarendon." Maddox, Hist. Exch. p. 236. And the Assize of Northampton is named in exactly the same terms in the rolls of the 22nd.

¹ Gervase, 1410.

² "Et de catallis fugitivorum pro assisa de Clarendune, et de catalis eorum qui per assisam illam perierunt," &c. Gerv. 1411.

year 1166, and those who wrote a few years later very naturally may have supposed, as Gervase of Canterbury certainly did, that the Assize of Clarendon had been enacted in 1164.¹

Confounded
with the
Constitu-
tions of
Clarendon.

The assize contains the instructions for itinerant justices holding courts in the several shires. A further reference to the Pipe Rolls at once confirms the supposed date of the assize, and throws light on the functionaries to whom the execution was entrusted. We find that it is from the year 1166 that the regular series of "Nova Placita et Novæ Conventiones" before the justices in the several counties begins. The earlier rolls contain every year "Nova placita et Novæ conventiones,"² but these were apparently transacted before the sheriffs, and contain fiscal rather than judicial accounts. They also contain the mention of occasional placita before the justiciar or the justice of the forests. The roll of the 31st Henry I. contains evidence of a nearly complete visitation

The Pipe
Rolls testify
to the
carrying
out of the
assize.

Earlier
instances of
eyres on
the rolls.

¹ Gervase at least supposed that the assize renewed at Northampton in 1176 was the *Constitutions* of Clarendon. "A.D. 1176, rex Henricus convocatis regni primoribus apud Northamptoniam renovavit assisam de Clarendonia eamque præcepit observari pro cuius exsecrandis institutis beatus Thomas martyr Cantuariensis usque in septennium exulavit" c. 1433.

² *Nova placita* are the pleas of the year to which the roll belongs. It is therefore only when we find *nova placita* held by the itinerating justices that we can infer that an *iter* was held in that year. Madox, of course, knew this, but in his lists of the itinerant justices he has neglected in the text to mark which judges belonged to previous *iters*, and which to the year in question.

I have tried to make these matters clearer in the lists which I have given in the notes, which are taken from the Pipe Rolls themselves. Of these invaluable records there are in print those of the 31st of Henry I., 2, 3, and 4 Hen. II., 1 Rich. I., and 3 John: besides which the whole series of Northumberland accounts are published by Mr. Hodgson. Mr. Stapleton's wonderful Introductions to the kindred Norman rolls are full of interesting information: and Madox's work contains a mine of details in most elaborate order. Strictly speaking, the "placita" were the fines inflicted by the judges, the "conventiones," the voluntary payments made by the parties to obtain a decision. *Dialogus*, p. 49.

Kyres of the
reign of
Henry I.

Earlier
kyres of
the reign of
Henry II.

Regular
kyres from
1166.

of the kingdom by Geoffrey Clinton in association with other judges. In twenty-two counties out of the twenty-six whose accounts are recorded, he appears as judge, the persons associated with him being generally men of local as well as official importance. A few notices of a similar kind are found in the earlier rolls of Henry II.¹ In 1156 the constable Henry of Essex made a visitation of most of the southern counties, the chancellor holding pleas with him in Essex and Kent and the great justiciar in Lincolnshire.² Between the fifth and ninth years of the reign, William FitzJohn made a similar circuit, probably on forest business, and in the eighth year Richard de Lucy, the justiciar, held pleas in Cumberland, which seem to have been of much importance, probably as being the first legal settlement of the county after its restoration by the Scots.

It is from the year 1166 that these placita are annual and general, the judges being, as in the earlier visitations, the chief officers of the court. In that year and the following the pleas in all the counties are held before Richard de Lucy, associated in seventeen out of eighteen

¹ William of Newburgh refers to Henry II.'s judicial reforms as beginning early in his reign: "ut legum vigor in Anglia revivisceret" "qui sub rege Stephano extinctus sepultusque videbatur, cura pro-pensiore satagit." Hist. ii. 1.

² In 1156 there are references to *placita*, which may have been held in 1155 or earlier by Henry of Essex in Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Hants, Wilts, and Sussex; by Gregory, the bishop of Chichester, and Ralph Picot in Middlesex, Surrey, Bucks, and Beds; by the archbishop of York in Yorkshire, and by the chancellor as in the text. In the following year there are new pleas

and conventions, but as no judges are mentioned they were probably held by the sheriffs. In the 6th year there are references to old pleas of the forest held by William FitzJohn in Devon, Somerset, and Hereford; in the 7th, to similar pleas by the same in Hereford and Yorkshire; in the 8th, to new pleas held by Richard de Luci in Cumberland, he being then great justiciar; and by Alan de Nevill (of the forest) in Oxfordshire. In the 10th, there are no new pleas or conventions recorded. In the 11th, the references are only to the old pleas of William FitzJohn and Richard de Lucy.

with Geoffrey de Mandeville.¹ In 1168 a commission of Justices in itinere, judicial and fiscal. four barons of the exchequer² was substituted for the justiciar and his companion. These visited, jointly or separately, the whole of England, and both assessed the aid for the marriage of the king's daughter, and heard pleas. The same judges repeated their visitation in 1169,³ 1170,⁴ and 1171. In the eighteenth year (1172) it does not appear whether the scutage for Ireland was levied by the sheriffs or by the justices, nor before whom the pleas were held; but in the nineteenth year⁵ a tallage on the demesne was assessed by six companies of the barons, and the principle of the circuits was for the first time introduced. The following year the business was transacted by the sheriffs in association with a clerk, and under the writ of the justiciar. It does not appear quite certainly whether these were judicial or merely

¹ Madox, *History of the Exchequer* (ed. 1711). Geoffrey de Mandeville died Oct. 21, 1167. Foss, *Judges*, i. 274. But as the fiscal year ended at Michaelmas he may have finished his eyre; but the pleas recorded are in most cases (if not all) the arrears of 1166.

² A°. 14 Hen. II. Richard archdeacon of Poitiers, Wido dean of Waltham, Reginald Warenne, and William Basset held pleas and collected the aid *pur fille murier* in all the south and midland counties. Richard de Lucy held pleas in Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Cumberland; and in Kent Henry FitzGerold was joined with the commission. These are criminal pleas as well as fiscal.

³ A°. 15 Hen. II. The same four barons, with John Cumin and Gervase de Cornhill in Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Wilts.

⁴ The inquest on the sheriffs of

1170 was not held by members of the Curia Regia, but by a special commission of laymen and ecclesiastics; they are, however, called *barones errantes*. Gervase, 1409.

⁵ A°. 19. 1. In the Eastern counties, Seffrid the archdeacon, Wimar the chaplain, Adam de Gernemue, and Robert Mantell.

2. In Wessex, Wido the dean, Hugh de Bocland, Richard Wilton, Will. Ruffus.

3. In Kent, Bucks, and Beds, Richard the archdeacon, Reginald Warenne, and Nicolas the chaplain.

4. In West Mercia (Glouc., Heref., &c.), John Cumin, Walter Map, and Turstin FitzSimon.

5. East Mercia (Northants, Notts, &c.), William Basset, and John Malduit, and John of Dover, clerk.

6. In Surrey and the home district, Reg. Warenne and Gervase de Cornhill.

Eyres of the
justices.

fiscal itera.¹ In the 21st year the whole kingdom was visited by four of the judges, Ranulf Glanvill and Hugh de Cressi taking the north and east, William de Lanvallei and Thomas Basset the south and west.²

Inquest on
the sheriffs
in 1170.

It would seem that these annual visitations of the justices proved ineffectual to check the oppressions and exactions of the sheriffs. The judges were unable in the absence of the king, and in the disturbed state of public feeling, to put any check on the sheriffs, supported as they were by local influence and prescriptive authority. The complaints of the people became so loud, that in a great council held at London shortly after Easter 1170, the king sent a strong commission of barons errant, chosen from the clergy and nobles, and unconnected with the Exchequer or the Curia, to examine into the conduct of the sheriffs. The instructions for this inquiry, which have been several times referred to above, are given by Gervase in his chronicle.³ They involve a strict scrutiny into the accounts and legal proceedings of the counties since the king's departure from England, and into the judgments passed under the assize of Clarendon. The work was speedily completed: the commissioners brought in their returns on 14th of June,⁴ in time for the coronation of the young king. Gervase does not state the result of the inquiry, but we find from our author that the king removed all the sheriffs and

¹ The list is different for each county, and is given in Madox, p. 84.

² See Madox, p. 85.

³ Gervase, 1409. Robert de Monte, ad 1170, and our author, vol. i. p. 5. Henry seems to have contemplated a similar measure in Normandy in 1162. He collected a parliament at Rouen, "querimonia faciens de episcopis et eorum

"ministris et vicecomitibus suis." R. de Monte, ad 1162. The oaths to be taken by the juries are given in S. T. C. ii. 262.

⁴ Gervase, 1411. Gervase seems to think that this inquest was made merely to frighten the nobles and sheriffs into taking the oath to the young king, "et sic timore cultum parum deposito omnes ad propria redierunt."

bailiffs from their offices. The Pipe Rolls furnish us with one or two cases of heavy fines imposed on the sheriffs under this inquest.¹ Henry, however, as we learn, did subsequently restore several of them, and they revenged themselves on the people by acting more tyrannically than ever.²

It is by looking carefully through the lists of the sheriffs who went out of office and came into it in 1170, that we get the clearest notion of what was done.³ It

Sheriffs
fined and
displaced.

Legal
officers sub-
stituted for
the feudal
magnates,

¹ The case given in Madox is that of William Basset, who made a fine of 100 marks, "pro fine quem fecit cum rege de jurata facta super eum de communi Inquisitione vicecomitum Angliæ per Walterum de Insula et Eustatium filium Stephani." Pipe Rolls of 19 and 20 of Hen. II., Madox, p. 96.

He must also have been dismissed from the sheriffalty.

² See our Chronicle, vol. i. p. 5.

³ The following list will show this. The first column containing the names of the sheriffs who went out of office in the 16th year, the second those who continued, and the third those who were put in in the 16th.

—	Went out.	Stayed in.	Came in.
Berks -	Adam de Catmer	- - -	Hugh de Bocland.
Oxon -	Adam de Catmer	- - -	Alard Banastre.
Beds and Bucks.	Hugh de Leya and William FitzRichard.	- - -	David the archdeacon and William FitzRichard.
Cambridge and Hunts.	Philip de Daventry.	- - -	Ebrard de Beach and Warin de Bassingbourn.
Cumberland	- - -	Robert FitzTroit.	
Derby and Notts.	Robert FitzRalph.	- - -	William FitzRalph.
Devon and Cornwall.	- - -	Robert FitzBernard.	
Dorset and Somerset.	Robert de Puckerell.	- - -	Alured de Lincoln.
Essex and Herts.	Nicolas, clerk, and Stephen de Beauchamp.	- - -	Robert Mantell.
Hants -	Richard FitzTurstin.	- - -	Hugh de Gundeville.
Leicester & Warwick.	William Basset -	- - -	Bertram de Verdun.
Lincoln -	Philip de Kyme	- - -	Walter de Grimsby.
London and Middlesex.	R. FitzBerengar and Will. FitzIsabell.	- - -	John Bienvenutte and Baldwin clerics.

in the office
of sheriff.

must be remembered that almost all the hereditary sheriffdoms had been abolished before this time; probably before the 31st of Henry I., when we find the administration of large clusters of counties in the hands of a few great officers of state. Under Henry II., however, the several counties or pairs of counties, had recovered their several sheriffs, and these officers were in most cases local magnates, and apparently held the position for life. A very clean sweep was made of these in 1170, and it is most important to observe that, in the place of these unjust stewards, Henry substituted members of the Curia Regis and Exchequer, a measure which

—	Went out.	Stayed in.	Came in.
Northumberland.	William de Vesci	- - -	Roger Stuteville.
Norfolk and Suffolk.	Ogier dapifer -	- - -	B. Glanvill, Wimar the chaplain, and Will. Bardulf.
Northants -	Simon FitzPeter	- - -	Robert FitzSawin.
Rutland -	- - -	Richard Humet.	
Salop -	Geoffrey de Vere	- - -	Will. clericus.
Stafford -	- - -	Hervey Stratton.	
Surrey -	- - -	Gervase de Cornhill.	
Sussex -	Roger Hai	- - -	Reginald Warren.
Wilts -	- - -	Richard deWilton.	
Worcester -	William de Beauchamp.	- - -	Hugo Puhier.
Lancashire	W. de Vesci	- - -	Roger de Herleberga.
Gloucester -	- - -	Gilb. Pipard.	
Hereford -	William de Beauchamp.	- - -	Walter clericus.
Yorkshire -	Ranulf Glanvill	- - -	Robert de Stuteville.

Of those who were dismissed, Simon FitzPeter, Ogier, and Philip of Daventry had occupied inferior situations in the Curia Regis; William Basset had been and afterwards was a justice, but on this occasion was deposed and fined. Of the others (except Glanvill, to whom Robert de Stuteville was probably a deputy.) no more is heard. Of

the second column, only Troit and Stratton were not members of the king's household; of the third, sixteen out of the whole were employed at the Exchequer. Compare Foss's *Judges* and Fuller's *Worthies, passim*. In the cases of Worcester Salop, and Hereford, the persons in the third column are the acting substitutes for the sheriffs.

had the direct effect of placing the county courts under the royal influence and securing their administration by judges acquainted with the law. The itinerant judges who served between 1170 and 1176 were thus members of the same body which supplied the sheriffs, and all ought to have proceeded smoothly. The disturbed and disorganized condition of the country consequent on the rebellion and its suppression, will account for the necessity of changes.

The county courts are brought into better order.

The year 1176, the 22nd of Henry II., is marked by a further step. In the great council of Northampton, held January 25,¹ it was determined to add very considerably to the staff of the itinerating courts, and to adopt the principle of subdivision which had been found so useful in the collection of the tallage in 1173. The kingdom was accordingly divided into six circuits, to each of which were assigned three judges.² Most of these eighteen judges were at the same time sheriffs and barons of the Exchequer, representatives of the system which had been enforced in 1170. It is in reference to them that the title *Justitiæ Itinerantes*³ first appears in the Pipe Rolls, although it was earlier given to the judges in eyre under the assize of Clarendon. For their direction, a new recension of that statute was passed, and from this

Assize of Northampton in 1176.

Regulation of the circuits of the justices.

¹ R. de Diceto, 588.

² "Igitur post naufragum regni
" statum pace reformata studuit
" iterum rex avita tempora reno-
" vare, et eligens discretos viros,
" secuit regnum in sex partes, ut
" eas electi iudices quos errantes
" vocamus perlustrarent et jura
" destituta restituerent. Facientes
" ergo sui copiam in singulis comi-
" tatibus, et iis qui se læsos puta-
" bant justitiæ plenitudinem exhi-
" bentes, pauperum laboribus et
" sumptibus pepercerunt." Dialo-

gus de Scaccario, p. 38. The pecu-
niary fines of these eyres were noted
in a roll, which was transcribed into
the Great roll, with the names of the
justices at the heading, p. 39.

³ The name occurs in the Dialo-
gus first in reference to the assess-
ing justices, "Fiunt interdum per
" comitatus communes assise a jus-
" titiis itinerantibus quos deambu-
" latorios vel perlustrantes iudices
" nominamus," pp. 23, 44. They
are called also, p. 36, "Perambu-
" lantes iudices."

epoch the institution of itinerant justices is stated in the law books to date.¹

Byres under
the assize
of North-
ampton.

Notwithstanding the importance given to the assize of Northampton, it is curious that the arrangement remained in force for only two years. The itinerant justices went their circuits in 1176 and apparently 1177, unless indeed it may have been that their visitation fell partly in the 22nd and partly in the 23rd year² of the reign, and so appears on the roll for both years. In the 23rd year, the same judges were employed as barons of the Exchequer in levying an aid, and for this purpose they travelled in different combinations, and made only four circuits.³

New
changes in
1178.

In 1178, the king made inquiry into the proceedings of these judges, and finding, according to our chronicle, "that the country and the men of the country were greatly oppressed by the multiplicity of the justices, for they were eighteen in number; by the advice of the wise men of the realm chose five only, two clerks and three laymen, all members of his private household. These five he ordered to hear all the complaints of the kingdom, and to do right, and that they should not depart from the king's court, but remain there to hear the complaints of the homines, so that if any

¹ The list of judges who actually went on circuit in 1176 will be found in Madox, p. 94, and agrees almost exactly with that given by our author, vol. i. p. 107. It is in the roll of this year that the judges are first called "justitiae itinerantes."

² The 22nd fiscal year would end at Michaelmas 1176. Dial. de Scacc. 37.

³ A°. 23. For assessing the aid.—1. Ralph FitzStephen, Turstin Fitz-Simon, and William Rufus in all the Western counties.

2. Robert Mantell and Ralph Brit in all the Eastern ones.

3. Roger FitzReinfrid and Ger-vase de Cornhill in Bucks, Beds, Sussex, and Kent.

4. William FitzRalph, William Basset, and Michael Belet in the North and Midland counties.

A°. 24. Justices. — 1. Roger FitzReinfrid, Ralph FitzStephen, Robert Mantell, and William FitzStephen in all the Western counties.

2. William Basset, Robert de Vallibus, and Michael Belet in the Northern counties.

“ question should come up amongst them, which could
 “ not be brought to an end by them, it should be pre-
 “ sented to the royal hearing, and terminated as it should
 “ please the king and the wiser men of the kingdom.”¹

Reduction
of the num-
ber of
judges.

It is by no means easy to determine the exact force of this measure. It seems impossible to doubt that the eighteen were identical with the judges of the year 1176, and that the intention was to prevent them from sitting in the Curia Regis. If the measure of 1176 really added largely to the number of the judges, and was not merely a rearrangement of their functions, there can be no doubt that the increased number was burdensome, and that the king intended to establish a new tribunal of five, to the exclusion of the rest. Accordingly the measure has been understood with great probability to imply the erection of a bank or bench in the Curia, to which the title of Curia Regis subsequently became restricted, and which is the original of the present Court of King's Bench.

Question as
to the force
of this act.

But it seems probable that this act was attended by the deposition of most of the eighteen from their judicial functions altogether, or their relegation to subordinate places in the Exchequer, for the iters were served in 1178 and 1179² by eight judges only, two of whom were new appointments; whilst on the redistribution of circuits, which was made in 1179 and carried out in 1180, Ranulf Glanvill alone of the eighteen judges of 1176 was reappointed. Many, however, of the itinerants of 1176 subsequently reappear in the transactions of the Exchequer.

Discarding
of some of
the old
judges.

¹ Vol. i., p. 207.

² A°. 25. The judges itinerant are Ralph FitzStephen, William FitzStephen, Roger FitzReinfrid, and Robert Mantell, William Basset, Robert de Vaux, Michael Belet,

and Bertram de Verdun; the former four in the Eastern, and the latter in the Midland counties. Of these eight, Michael Belet and Robert Mantell were not in the list for 1176.

Legal measures of 1179.

Rearrangement of circuits.

The year 1179 is memorable on several grounds,¹ Soon after Easter Richard de Lucy, who had been justiciar since 1167, retired into his monastery at Lesnes,² and the king was left with his hands full of legal business. He almost immediately called a great council at Windsor, and in it the following important acts were transacted. The kingdom was rearranged into four new circuits for the eyres of the justices. The place of Richard de Lucy was not immediately supplied, but three bishops were chosen as chief justices, one of whom presided over each of the three southern circuits, in conjunction with one of the king's clerks and three other officers. To the fourth circuit, which included the whole of the north of England, were appointed six judges, one of whom was Ranulf Glanvill, who was probably already designated to the justiciarship; and these six judges of

¹ The passage of Ralph de Diceto on the legal matters of this year deserves most attentive study. It is too long to be given entire, but I will note the principal facts. 1. It was in order to check the selfishness of the sheriffs that the king originally instituted the provincial visitations, "*certis in locis jurisdictiones aliis fidelibus suis in regno commisit.*" 2. By-and-by, "*rursus aliquot temporum labente curricula,*" the king tried by what class of judges justice was most faithfully administered. "*Abbates modo, comites modo, capitaneos modo, domesticos modo, familiarissimos modo, causis audientis et examinandis præposuit.*" Having done this, he determined to employ "*homines . . qui licet viverent inter homines superintendentes hominibus, aliquid haberent, aliquid sentirent, aliquid*

"*auderent plus homine.*" 3. In accordance with this resolution he appointed the bishops of Winchester, Ely, and Norwich to be *archijusticiarios*. These ecclesiastics are not to be blamed for following the example of the great Roger of Salisbury. 4. "*Ab episcopis igitur supradictis et a conjudicibus eorundem querelis justitia mediante decisa, reservatis quibusdam ad principis audientiam, regis ratio redditur administrationis vi. kal. Sept. apud Westmonasterium.*" 5. The writer understands this as authorizing bishops to preside in the county courts, *in comitiis*. 6. An investigation of the ecclesiastical courts took place the same year, and the archbishop of Canterbury had to swear that he would keep his hands free from bribes. R. de Dic. 605-607.

² He died in July. Gerv. 1456.

the northern circuit are stated apparently to be the six judges appointed to hear the complaints of the people in the Curia Regis, and answer to the five justices of the bench appointed in 1178, with Glanvill at their head. The business of the eyre was quickly transacted, and although the council of Windsor was only held about Whitsuntide, the account of the kingdom was brought to the king at Westminster on 27th of August.

With this act ends the series of measures taken by Henry II.¹ to secure the administration of justice in the counties.² He had withdrawn the jurisdiction from the sheriffs and placed it in the hands of a travelling court. When this failed he had removed the sheriffs from their posts and substituted for them members of his own council. He had further instituted an especial tribunal of itinerant justices, and divided the kingdom into six circuits. He had superseded this arrangement by a special enactment, in which the judges were associated with confidential members of the clerical and curial bodies. From this time we lose sight of his direct agency in this respect; but the four circuits of the king's judges were established, the importance of the territorial franchises was broken down, the character of the sheriff completely subordinated to that of the judge. By the assize of Richard I. these measures were carried further, the sheriffs were forbidden to act as justiciars in their own counties, and by Magna Charta they were restrained from holding pleas of the crown at all. The

Eyre of 1178.

Summary of the proceedings of Henry II. as to the eyres of the judges.

¹ The names of the judges of this iter will be found at vol. i., p. 238. It will be seen that only five of the names are those of the judges of former years, viz., Ranulf Glanvill, of an. 15; Gilbert Pipard, of an. 22; Thomas Basset, of an. 21; John Comin, of ann. 15; Michael Belet, of an. 24. Mr. Foss adds to these Richard the treasurer; Ralph Brit,

and Nicolas the chaplain; but these had only acted as assessors of the tallage in 1177. See above, p. lxx.

² Henry's personal share in these reforms is noticed by the historians: "Quoties autem iudicibus mollius indigniusve agentibus provinciarum querimoniis pulsabatur, provisionis regie remedium adhibebat." W. Newb. ii. 1.

itinerant justices were restored by the same act, but within a few years their visitations became septennial, and they were gradually and finally superseded by the devolution of their function on justices of assize.

Ranulf
Glanvill,
justiciar.

The appointment of Ranulf Glanvill to the office of justiciar in 1180 probably relieved the king from the necessity of that constant legislation on judicial matters which marks the previous ten years. It is another important coincidence that this appointment synchronizes so nearly with our first clear indication of the existence of a limited tribunal erected in the Curia Regis, to which very shortly the name of Curia Regis became appropriated, and with which the famous book of Glanvill has so important a connexion.

II. The
origin of
the Curia
Regis.

The Curia Regis in its earlier and wider sense was doubtless the Common Council of the nation, the assembly of feudal tenants of the king which succeeded to the functions of the Witenagemote, and which was held three times a year by the Conqueror. But although this council acted on occasion as a court of justice, its judicial functions and name were soon shared with that small portion of it which remained continuously about the king's person. In this restricted sense it consisted of the great officers of the household, the justiciar, chancellor, treasurer, and barons of the Exchequer, with such of his clerks as the king might summon, and it probably included the stewards of the honours and constables of the castles which were in the king's hands, or in demesne. It was on the justiciar and the officers of the Exchequer under him who bear the title of both justices and barons that the principal burden of judicial proceedings fell, and to them, as we have just seen, the commissions of provincial jurisdiction were entrusted.

Henry
substitutes
a committee
of five.

We have seen that in 1178 Henry substituted a tribunal of five judges for the collective council of the Curia, with the direction, "Quod illi quinque audirent
" omnes clamores regni et rectum facerent et quod a

"Curia Regis non recederent;" and that this limitation has been very reasonably regarded as the institution of the Curia Regis in its third sense, in which it may be defined as a judicial committee of the king's judicial council, and which is probably the tribunal described by Glanvill as "justiciarii sedentes in Banco."¹

Origin of the court of King's Bench.

Previously to 1178 all the members of the Curia Regis seem to have exercised the judicial function in the Curia and in the exchequer, as well as on the eyres, generally, as on the eyres, in committees of three or four.² Now it would appear that the central jurisdiction was entrusted to a single committee of five. As the six who were appointed in nearly the same words, the following year, to be justices of the Curia Regis, were apparently different persons from these five, with the exception of Glanvill, we may infer that the appointment of this committee was an annual or even a terminal one, and that the judges of the Curia in this new form, or, as we may call them, the justices of the bench, were a temporary selection from the whole body of judges, who still discharged the offices of itinerant justices and barons of the exchequer. That the itinerant justices did not lose their places in the exchequer is clear, from the fact that their names appear in the lists of persons before whom fines were levied in the Curia Regis at a later period.³

Question as to the persons employed in the Curia Regis.

We have unfortunately no account of further changes in the constitution of the Curia Regis during this reign,

¹ Glanvill, ii. 6, viii. 1, and xi. 1.

² See examples from an. 21 Hen. II., downwards, in Madox, pp. 64 and 65. The judges of 1176 held *placita curie* in quite different combinations from those on which they went their circuits; but the names are the same. The *placita curie*, given by Madox, are held in 1175 by William FitzRalph, Bertram de Verdun, and Thomas Basset; in

1176, by William FitzRalph, Bertram de Verdun, and William Basset; in 1177, by Walter FitzRobert, Hugh de Cressi, and Robert Mantell; but it is difficult to argue from such scanty data; and much information is not to be found in the rolls themselves.

³ See the Fines published by Mr. Hunter for the Record Commission in 1835 and 1844.

Obscurity of
the origin of
the Three
Courts.

nor, when the existing records of that court begin,¹ can we see quite clearly who were the presiding judges. The origin of the bench of common pleas is also very obscure. The final separation of the three courts originated in the direction of the 17th chapter of *Magna Charta*, but it does not appear that even then a distinct staff of judges was appointed to each tribunal. Probably until late in the reign of Henry III. the same persons continued as before to sit in the three different courts in distinct capacities.

III. The
king's
council.

The same passage in our Chronicle in which the original institution of this limited tribunal is traced, affords an indication of a still higher court of justice to which questions might be referred which demanded exceptional treatment; that of the king in council, which contains the germ both of the equitable tribunals of the country, of the judicial power of the chancellor, and possibly of that of the privy council. The words are, "ita
" ut si aliqua quæstio inter eos veniret quæ per eos in
" finem duci non posset, auditui regi præsentaretur, et
" sicut ei et sapientioribus regni placeret, terminaretur."

Composi-
tion of the
king's
council.

According to this theory, which was first brought forward by Mr. Duffus Hardy,² this private concilium regis was, prior to the development of parliament, the highest tribunal in the kingdom. "It was not only composed of
" the wisdom of the nation, but also the great officers
" of state; the chancellor, treasurer, justices of either
" bench, and barons of the exchequer, were all active
" members of it." ³ If this description is applicable to the earlier stages of its existence, it clearly was little more than a re-appearance of the *Curia Regis* in another shape. Considering the limited number of councillors whom the king could summon to such a court, we may suppose that it was really the whole body of the judges

Number of
councillors
limited by
circum-
stances.

¹ Edited by Sir Francis Palgrave, in two volumes, 1835.

² Introduction to the Close Rolls, pp. 95-105, octavo edition.

³ Hardy, from Sir M. Hale, Introduction, &c., p. 100.

and ministers joined in the examination of points too knotty for the determination of the bench ; perhaps reviewing the decisions of their own committees.

It is probable that during the reign of Henry, who had a great aptitude for judicial functions, and was fond of administering justice in person, the king himself rather than the justiciar would preside in this court. During the reign of Richard, William Longchamp united the offices of regent, justiciar, and chancellor ; and from the time of his death the office of justiciar was political rather than judicial. John, like his father, occasionally administered justice in his own person, although the justiciarship possessed much the same character as it had under his father. But Hubert de Burgh was the last who possessed the proper status of the ancient justiciar ; with the division of the three courts emerges at once the increased importance of the chancellor, and the distinct equitable jurisdiction of the council. The chancellor was inferior to the justiciar as long as the old constitution of the Curia Regis remained. When the council succeeded to its place, the justiciar sank into the chief justice of a single court, and the chancellor became, in the absence of the king, the natural president of the council.¹

The justiciar and the chancellor.

The importance of the chancery, previous to the establishment of the independent judicature of the chancellor, was indirect, perhaps, but by no means insignificant. In its origin, it was the secretarial² department of the Curia Regis, and of that court the chancellor was a very important member ; he kept the seal, and originally drew up the writs. How great influence he might exercise on the mind of the king, so long as the latter took a personal share in the judicature, we may easily imagine ; nor was this all : the chancellor might introduce modifications into the very terms of the decisions of the court.

Earlier character of the chancery.

Accidental influence of the chancellor.

¹ Hardy, Introduction, &c., p. 105.

² Cf. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 177-179.

Thomas
Becket as
chancellor.

The theory that the importance of the chancellor owed something to the personal influence of Thomas Becket with Henry II. has, at different times, had able supporters; and a passage of John of Salisbury, in which the chancellor is said to have cancelled unjust decisions,¹ has been adduced in proof of his exercising a rudimentary equitable jurisdiction at this early time. The play on the word is not, however, peculiar to this case, and, if it means anything, must refer to the official rather than to the personal influence of the chancellor, the power of wording and recording the decisions of the sovereign.

Did the
chancellor-
ship attain
an increase
of dignity in
Becket?

Another theory, turning on the same point, maintains that the chancellorship in Becket's person was advanced from the sixth to the second rank of precedence after the king; but of this I can find no definite proof. The functions of the chancellor were more strictly connected with the administration of justice than those of any other officer of the Curia, except the justiciar. The constable or the marshal or the chamberlain, merely as such, could hardly have taken precedence of the keeper of the great seal, and the chancellor was the second official in the kingdom before those offices had become attached to houses of first-rate baronial rank.

Whether, after this was the case, the chancellor would have maintained his precedence, unless he had been also a bishop, may, I think, be doubted. From the very early date at which the title of second² from the king is given to Becket, it seems almost impossible to suppose that the precedence was given him for personal reasons; and the

¹ Joh. Salisb. Enth. in Polier.
"Hic est qui regni leges cancellat
iniquas et mandata pii principis
æqua facit."

² Becket is called "secundus
post regem in quatuor regnis," by
Peter of Celle. S. T. C. iv. 169.
The chancellor was next in dignity
to the justiciar, who was "primus in
regno." Dialogus de Scaccario,
8, 9. No argument can be drawn

from the signatures of charters, in
which the name of the chancellor
occupies the same place under Ste-
phen as under Henry II. The names
stand generally thus. (1.) The
bishops and abbots. (2.) The chan-
cellor and chaplains. (3.) The earls
and barons. The justiciar signs
merely as a baron, and the chan-
cellor in his position as a clergy-
man.

obscurity into which the office falls after his resignation seems to indicate that it gained nothing from him. Ralph de Warneville, the next on the list of chancellors, is scarcely known, except by the mention of his resignation. He lived away from court, in Normandy, and discharged his high function by means of a vice-chancellor.¹ Geoffrey, the king's son, received the seal as an endowment, the actual work being done as before. The office of chancellor was purchased by William Longchamp, for somewhat less than Geoffrey Rufus had paid for it to Henry I.² It is probably to William Longchamp, rather than to Becket, that the office was indebted for an increase of its practical influence. He was at once justiciar and chancellor, and, as under his tenure the chancery assumed a new and distinct character, so from this time the precedence and influence of the function was fully and permanently recognized.

Ralph de Warneville, chancellor.

Geoffrey, chancellor.

William Longchamp.

¹ "Radulfus de Warnevilla, Rothomagensis sacrista, thesaurarius "Eboracensis, constitutus est Anglie cancellarius; qui modum vivendi parum a privato dissimilem, quem prius semper habuerat non immutavit, malens Waltero de Constanciis, canonico Rothomagensi, vices in Curia Regis committere, quam circa latus principis militantes expensis profusioribus cautiorebus mensis, ad sui gloriam nominis propagandam per dies singulos invitare." R. de Diceto, 567, ad 1173. Walter of Coutances ought to appear in the list of the Lords Keepers. He is called Sigillarius, Dic. 609.

² The price of the chancellorship of the younger king, in 1176, was 1,100 marks. R. de Diceto, 589. Our author says 11,000, i. 122; but it will be observed that the reading depends on only the inferior MS. The Julius MS. has a blank for

the number of thousands, which the writer of the Vitellius MS. may have filled up from R. de Diceto. If the reading be right the sum would be 7,333l. 6s. 8d.; which seems as much beyond the mark as 733l. 6s. 8d. seems below it. The price of the treasurer'ship in 1159 was 400l. On the statement of Foliot that Becket bought the chancellorship, see Robertson's *Becket*, p. 322. I think it most likely to be true; and that although Henry chose him for his merits, he made him pay his price, as Richard did with William Longchamp under similar circumstances, allowing him to have it for 3,000l., although there was another bid at 4,000l. Geoffrey Rufus bought it for 7,000l. (Ann. Margam, ad 1122), of which 3,006l. 13s. 4d. was unpaid in 31 Hen. I., *Pipe Roll*. William Longchamp paid 3,000l. for it in 1189. R. Devizes, p. 9.

Origin of
the judicial
power of the
chancellor.

But, however the honorary importance of the chancellor arose, it seems certain that his actual judicature sprang out of his office as president of the king's council.¹ It belongs to the investigator of our later legal history to examine how this took place, as well as to decide the steps by which, from the union of the council with the House of Lords in the Magnum Concilium, arose that confusion of powers, which ended on the one hand in giving to the council legislative powers, and, on the other, in giving to the House of Lords that appellate jurisdiction which belonged more strictly to the council; whilst the court of the council itself, after retaining its original character in the court of Star Chamber, has, by various changes of law and circumstance, reached the present time in the shape of the judicial committee of the privy council.

Modern
develop-
ments of the
council.

IV. Legal
enactments
of Henry II.

The loss of the original text of nearly all the measures by which Henry II. introduced his changes into the customs of the law, precludes the possibility of any such chronological arrangement of them as I have attempted in the foregoing sketch of his judicial innovations. It is on these measures for the most part that his right depends to the title of the founder of the common law. They were important and numerous, even if we exclude from the calculation those changes of custom which, appearing in his reign, and not being traceable in the remains of earlier legislation, are attributed to him as their author. To this latter class may belong the exchange of the ancient rule of inheritance for the feudal practice of primogeniture,² the disuse of the English language in charters, the depression of the lowest class of freemen into a state of villenage,³ and the abolition of the in-

¹ See Palgrave's *Essay on the Original Authority of the King's Council*, London, 1834.

² Geoffrey's assize of 1185, instituting the inheritance by primogeniture in Brittany, is printed

in Palgrave's *Commonwealth*, ii. cccxxxv., from Lobineau, ii., pp. 317, 318.

³ *Dialogus*, p. 28, "Ascriptitii
" de regni jure licite ven
" dantur."

vidious distinction between the English and the Norman freeman.¹ To these I might perhaps add the extinction of the provincial differences of the Mercian, Danish, and West Saxon customs, but the principle of money compensations for injuries,² on the carrying out of which most of the provincial distinctions depend, and which became obsolete at the same time, probably involved most of them in its abolition; whilst others of the local usages continued long afterwards.

Henry's recognized acts of legislation are to be deduced from the text of the various assizes which have come down to us, and from the fragments of the lost ones which are imbedded in the work of Glanvill. The former class are of course as closely connected with his changes in the provincial jurisdictions, as the latter are with his institution or remodelling of the Curia Regis. Any attempt to evolve the particulars of the changes from a comparison between Glanvill and the Anglo-Saxon laws, is, notwithstanding the apparent authority of Madox and Hallam,³ entirely futile. The two are so far different in subject matter as to be incapable of direct comparison: Glanvill's work is simply a book of process; the laws are for the most part the declarations of pains and penalties. Glanvill is a handbook for the Curia Regis, a court which he himself was chiefly instrumental in creating or developing. The Anglo-Saxon laws, so far as they are declaratory of process at all, are the rules of the courts which existed long before the Curia Regis, and the machinery of which, so far from being superseded by the machinery of Glanvill's formulas, existed for centuries afterwards. Hallam, in the form of a conjecture, has stated what is a self-evident fact to any one who will compare the two.⁴

¹ Dialogus, p. 26, see above, p. xxxiii., note.

² Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 48.

³ Middle Ages, ii. 339, &c.

⁴ Middle Ages, ii. 341.

Institution
of juries.

The same spirit in which Henry was determined, whilst retaining the machinery of the ancient courts of law, to substitute his own servants for the magistrates of the county and the lords of the franchises, appears in his amalgamation of English and Norman customs in criminal trials. By the first clause of the assize of Clarendon, the justices are directed to make inquiry by twelve lawful men of the hundred, and by four lawful men of every township, by oath that they will speak the truth, if in the hundred or in their township, there be any man who is publicly accounted or known to be guilty of robbery, murder, or theft, or a receiver of robbers, murderers, or thieves. Thus indicted, the criminal is to go at once to the ordeal of water, and if he fails, to undergo the legal punishment. In this direction the ancient system of the compurgatory oath is, except in the boroughs, ipso facto abolished ;¹ but the presentment by twelve lawful men is retained from the Anglo-Saxon law.² Their verdict is that of witnesses according to the Anglo-Saxon fashion : but the process is an inquest under oath, according to the custom of the Normans.

Enforce-
ment of
frankpledge
and the law
of strangers.

The enforcement of the law of frankpledge in the same assize, is coupled with the direction to sheriffs to enter all franchises for the purpose of view.³ The directions as to strangers are adapted closely from the old law. The court which is to be held before the itinerant justices, is the court of the county under the presidency of the sheriff ; the point of contact between the Curia Regis and the shire-mote.

New insti-
tutions of
Henry II.

It is from Glanvill that we learn the institution of the new process in civil trials ; the enactment of the great

¹ On this very interesting question see Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, chap. vii., and on the whole subject, chap. viii., p. 259, &c.

² Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i.

257. " Assembled according to the " Anglo-Saxon law and sworn " according to the Norman law."

³ See Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 118, 257, 297.

assize,¹ and of the recognitions of Mortdancer² and Novel disseisin;³ the system of fines: the distinctive character of courts of record;⁴ the inclusion of usury in the matters of presentment;⁵ the process of inquiry into purprestures.⁶

Side by side with these national jurisdictions and national jurisprudence was the administration of the forests: a department which was understood to be peculiarly, immediately and exclusively in the king's hands,⁷ and in which Henry acted with more severity and in a more thoroughly tyrannical spirit than can be traced in any other of his acts, private or public.⁸ I

¹ The text of the Great Assize is lost. It is called by Glanvill, ii. 7., "Regale quoddam beneficium clementia principis de consilio procerum populis indultum." And the provisions of it are quoted at ii. 17-19.

² The text of this assize is lost; it is referred to in Glanvill as, "constitutio regni quæ assisa nominatur." Lib. xiii. 1. Glanvill mentions an "Assisa Regni," (lib. x. c. 12) forbidding suits concerning the debts or tenements of laymen to be decided in a court Christian "ratione fidei interpositæ." This Assisa Regni is the Constitutions of Clarendon, c. 15.

³ Lib. viii. 9., "per assisam de consilio regni inde factam." Compare, however, with that chapter the assize of Northampton, c. 3., and of Clarendon, c. 18, and the laws of William the Conqueror, i. 48.

⁴ Cf. Glanvill, vii. 16., with Dialog. de Scacc. p. 47.

⁵ See D. de Scacc. pp. 44, 45. Glanvill. ix. 11.

⁶ On these, see Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 225, &c., 257, &c.

⁷ "Sane forestarum ratio posita quoque vel absolutio delinquentium . . . seorsum ab aliis regni judiciis seceruntur et solius regis arbitrio vel cujusalibet familiaris ad hoc specialiter deputati subjicitur. Legibus quidem propriis subsistit, quas non communi regni jure sed voluntaria principum institutione subnixas dicunt, etc." Dialogus, p. 29.

⁸ Frequent traces of this may be found in the present work. Ralph de Diceto seems to say that forest charges were trumped up against offenders against whom nothing could have been proved at law. Ralph Niger says, "Avibus omni, piscibus fluminum, bestiis terræ immunitatem dedit, et sata pauperum loca pascua fecit." p. 168, and "legem quoque de forestis inauditam dedit, qua delicti alieni immunes perpetuo mulcebantur quum decessores nulla linea sanguinis contingerit." The enactment which was most odious was, however, this: "Nulli infra metas forestæ habitanti in lucis propriis aut virgas colligendi aut

Assize of
Woodstock.

General
tendency
of legal
reforms.

Henry's
fiscal mea-
sures.

have given in the appendix, a copy of the Assize of the Forest made at Woodstock, probably in 1184, of which the assize given in our Chronicle was an earlier form.

It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to enter on the fields of investigation which are opened by the mention of these technical names. I have said, I think, sufficient to show the nature, extent, and purpose of the changes. It cannot be doubted that they contributed immensely and directly to the safety of life and property, the punishment of criminals, the limitation of dangerous privileges, the abolition of barbarous customs, the gradual assimilation of public usages, and the amalgamation of the different nationalities. These points must be worked out by the legal historian: but it requires no such investigation to assure us that they all contributed to the consolidation of the royal authority, the increase of the royal revenue, the directness of royal administration: nor, considering the part which both friends and foes ascribe to him, can we doubt the exercise of the king's personal agency, or refuse to trace his peculiar genius in these institutions.

Although we would not, with Ralph Niger,¹ assert that the sole object of Henry's judicial and legal innovations was the accumulation of treasure, the connexion between these and his fiscal measures was very close. It could indeed hardly be otherwise, considering that both Curia Regis and Exchequer owed their organization to the creative genius of one statesman, and that they were administered throughout the century by the same

"sylvestia et invia in agricultu-
ram agendi potestatem concessit
sine forestariis." Yet essarts were
being made clearly throughout the
reign. William of Newburgh (iii.
26) says, that in his punishments
for forest offences Henry was milder
than his grandfather, who made no

distinction between the man-slayer
and the deer-slayer. Cf. Dial. de
Scacc. p. 28.

¹ "Nullo quæstu satiatu, aboli-
tis antiquis legibus, singulis annis
novas leges, quas assisas vocavit,
edidit." p. 168.

persons.¹ The sheriffs were both presidents of the county court and farmers of the revenue :² the judges were at once justices of the Curia and barons of the exchequer ; their work in eyre was as much to assess the taxes as to decide the pleas ; the chief justiciar was both the principal judge and " the first lord of the treasury."

Connexion
between the
law and the
revenue.

It would be a most interesting task to attempt to trace the effects of this connexion of the two departments in constitutional history. Sir Francis Palgrave has pointed out the fact that the leading features of our parliamentary institutions are traceable to the judicial system of ancient times. The parliament is the highest court of judicature ; the representative principle is identical with that of the jury : and it may be added that the taxing power of parliament itself may be traced in the same way to the assessment by juries, of which vestiges may be found from the era of Domesday Book downwards, which existed in certain departments in the reign of Henry II., and was approved and recognized by law under Richard I.

Light
thrown on
the origin of
parliamentary
institutions.

The revenue of the Anglo-Saxon kings arose principally from their demesnes, including both those which were kept in hand and those which were let at ferm at rents payable for the most part in kind. Besides this ordinary revenue, there were the Danegeld voted by the Witan for tribute or for the defence against the Danes ; and certain other payments known generally under the name of geld or tax, which were probably derived from commutations of the trinoda necessitas, or special sums levied for the support of the shipping.

Sources of
ancient
revenue.

¹ " Illic enim residet capitalis
domini regis justitia, primus post
regem in regno ratione fori, et
majores quique de regno qui
familiarius regiis secretis assis-
tunt . . . verum quidam ex officio,

" quidam ex sola jussione principis
resident." Dial. p. 8.

² The author of the Dialogus
compares the days of account at
the exchequer to a game at chess
between the treasurer and the
sheriff of each county. Dial., p. 4.

Norman system combining the feudal with the ancient taxes.

The Norman sovereigns proceeding on their general policy of combination maintained these taxes, and added to them the feudal burdens. It is indeed uncertain whether the Conqueror and William Rufus took the trouble of defining the exact nature of the calls which they made on their subjects for money. With the reign of Henry I. our actual knowledge of the question begins, and before the end of it we find the united burdens of the two systems pressing heavily on the nation at large. In the roll for the 31st year of his reign,¹ side by side with the fixed ferm of the counties and the Danegeld, two strictly national sources of revenue, appear the feudal payments for reliefs, marriages, and wardships; talliages on the towns are a part of the annual account. From other sources we learn that the marriage portion of the empress Maud was raised by a strictly feudal aid. A very considerable proportion of the revenue was already derived from the proceeds of placita, the profits arising from the administration of justice, enormous amercements for offences, and the sale of public offices.

Administration of the exchequer.

Roger, bishop of Salisbury, was the founder of the organization of the exchequer, and by his family it was administered, except during Stephen's reign, during the whole of the century. Nigel, bishop of Ely, his nephew, presided at the treasury until the year 1159, when he was succeeded by his son Richard, who held the same position until his death in 1198. Roger le Poor,² the

¹ Published by the Record Commission in 1835. Edited by Mr. Hunter.

² Dial. p. 20. There can, I think, be no doubt that the name "pauper" was first applied to Bishop Roger, and descended from him to his son, the chancellor. It is proved by the application to the bishop of the line, "*l'aupertas tenuis quam sit secunda virosum*," by the author of the Dialogue, who was his great nephew,

p. 20. And the historians who give an account of his rise dwell much on his original poverty, although they do not give him the name. The son of such a father was not likely to deserve the name of pauper in his youth, yet he has it universally. I am inclined to believe that Herbert "pauper" was son of Roger, the chancellor; he was the offspring of a concubine. Ben. Pet. i. 352.

son of Bishop Roger, was at one time chancellor to Stephen: the names of Herbert and Richard, successively bishops of the same see, and known by the same surname, probably carried on the family connexion with the court and exchequer far into the reign of Henry III. To the pen of Richard FitzNeal we owe the invaluable "*Dialogus de Scaccario*;" to his father and great uncle the institution of the enrolments of the revenue known as the Pipe Rolls, which contain the only documentary evidence, strictly speaking, which exists for the illustration of the constitutional history of this reign.

The business powers of Henry II. appear to great advantage in his dealings with the exchequer. One of the first measures of his reign was to set up the old administration as it had been in his grandfather's time.¹ Bishop Nigel² was recalled to court and restored to his ancient place. The enrolment of receipts was at once proceeded with, and although it was not for some years that the completeness of accounts which had existed under Henry I. was attained, the order and method of the rolls of Henry II. are in favourable contrast with the single remaining roll of the former reign. Besides bishop Nigel and Richard of Ilchester, to whom he gave a special seat at the exchequer board,³ Henry secured the services of Master Thomas Brunus or le Brun,⁴ an old officer of king Roger of Sicily, whom he made his Almoner,⁵ and

Family of
Roger le
Poor.

Henry II.
restores the
exchequer.

¹ "Porro super his te vidimus quandoque sollicitum adeo ut missis a latere tuo viris discretis de eodem dominum tunc Eliensem convenieris." *Dial. de Scacc.* p. 2 (ed. 1711).

² See *Dialogus*, &c., p. 24, where the author gives a glowing character of the bishop.

³ *Dialogus*, p. 13. He had risen from the ranks in the treasury; being mentioned as a scriptor in

the Roll of the 2nd of Henry II., p. 30.

⁴ *Dialogus*, p. 9.

⁵ Froger, bishop of Sees, was almoner until 1159. Roger the Hospitaller took the office in 1177. Thomas Brunus was an Englishman who had been employed at the Sicilian court in high office. On the death of the king (probably Roger in 1154) he was invited to England. His name appears in the rolls from

provided with a similar seat, and who kept a roll of the exchequer, and other proceedings of the king and Curia, distinct from the counterpart enrolments of the treasurer and chancellor.

Exchequer
accounts.
I. The
farm of the
counties.

The first item in the revenue rolls of each county is the *firma comitatus*; the assized farm or rent which the sheriff paid as commutation for the *feorm-fultum* of earlier times. This source of revenue amounted, if we are to believe Giraldus Cambrensis,¹ to 60,000 marks in the time of Edward the Confessor, but had fallen in the reign of Henry II. to 12,000 marks, in consequence of the heavy charges granted out of it by both Stephen and Henry to their followers. This statement cannot be strictly true. The farms were assessed certainly before the reign of Stephen,² for in the 31st of Henry I. they had sunk to the amounts at which they continued throughout the century, the aggregate in the gross not

the 5th year to the 23rd. In the 15th year, 1169, he was almoner, so that he probably resigned that office in 1177. See Madox's note on the *Dialogus*, p. 17.

¹ De Inst. Pr. iii. 30. "Annuī
" *fiscales redditus sicut in rotulo*
" *Wintoniæ reperitur ad sexaginta*
" *millia marcarum summam imple-*
" *bant. Tempore vero regis Hen-*
" *rici secundi, tot terris interim*
" *militibus tam a rege Stephano*
" *prius quam ab ipso postmodum*
" *..... large utrinque datis, vix*
" *annui xii. millium marcarum red-*
" *ditus fiscales sunt inventi.*" He
adds that the German emperor has
300,000 marks per annum; and
that the city of Palermo alone
yielded more to the king of Sicily
than all England did to Henry.
The use of the words *terris datis* in
this passage is technical. See Dia-

logus, p. 14, and the Pipe Rolls,
passim.

² Richard FitzNeal, writing in
1178, could remember the time
when the farms were partly paid
in kind. *Dialogus de Scaccario*,
p. 20. To remedy the oppression
incident to the system, the king,
Henry II., "diffinito magnorum
" *consilio destinavit per regnum*
" *quos ad id prudentiores et discre-*
" *tiores cognoverat, qui circumnites*
" *et oculata fide fundos singulos*
" *perinstrantes, habita estimatione*
" *victualium quæ de his solvebantur*
" *redegerunt in summam denario-*
" *rum.*" This writer states that
part of the farm of the county arose
from *placita*, of which the earl had
a third part, his third penny. But
the whole farm, and the third penny
itself, had become a fixed charge
before the reign of Henry II. Dial
p. 31.

reaching to more than 12,000*l*. From this fund, which was the whole of the ordinary revenue of the crown, Stephen had drawn the endowments of his fiscal or titular earls,¹ and the considerable sums which he spent on religious foundations. The crown was thereby so impoverished that it is difficult to see by what means during the middle and later years of the reign the royal state was supported, unless it were by a heavy Danegeld. One of Henry's first measures was to revoke these charges, and to restore them to their proper purpose. The lay grants were resumed, but the church endowments were beyond the king's reach; and as these, with the necessary provision made for his own family and followers, must be drawn from the same source, the sum of about 4,000*l*, to which in the early years of the reigns the terræ datæ amounted, must be deducted from the gross sum of the fermæ. This reduced sum continued the same throughout the reign, and agrees very nearly with the estimate of Giraldus, about 8,000*l*.²

The fermæ
improved
by
Stephen.

Giraldus'
statement.

The Danegeld, which had been always an odious tax to the English, and which, from its impact on the cultivated lands of the country, by its very nature repressed any attempts at improvement, had been abolished by

II. The
Danegeld.

¹ "Quosdam imaginarios et pseudo-
"oomites quibus rex Stephanus
"omnia pene ad fiscum pertinentia
"minus caute distribuerat." R. de
Monte, ad 1155. The reference is
to the same in the passage of R. de
Diceto quoted above, p. xlv. "Bo-
"norum occupatores quæ suam ad
"mensam quasi ad fiscum ab anti-
"quo pertinere noscuntur, patri-
"monio proprio contentos esse de-
"bere, assereret, et etiam cogeret,"
c. 570. "Considerans . . . quod
"regii redditus breves essent qui
"avito tempore uberes fuerant, eo
"quod regia dominica per molli-

"tiem regis Stephani ad alios
"multosque dominos majori ex
"parte migrassent, præcepit ea
"cum omni integritate a quibus-
"cunque detentoribus resignari."
W. Newb. ii. 2.

² These numbers are arrived at
by adding up the gross receipts of
the Pipe Rolls. I have been as
careful as I could, but it is difficult
to be sure about the lower figures
in a sum of fifty or sixty pages of
Roman numerals, and I have pre-
ferred giving the result in round
numbers.

The Danegeld under the Norman kings.

It becomes a fixed charge.

Was the whole produce of the tax paid into the exchequer?

Edward the Confessor,¹ and restored by the Conqueror in an aggravated form. The ancient tax of two shillings on the hide had been on one occasion raised to six. It had not, however, become as before a part of the regular annual revenue, but was reserved by William for occasions of exceptional urgency,² so that it is possible that the gross amount so raised was not larger than it would have been if it had been collected annually, although in a time when money was scarce, the accumulated pressure would be out of all proportion heavier. We are not informed by what influences this tax was modified³ until we find it in the reign of Henry I. a fixed and annual charge, bringing in the gross about 5,500*l.*, but reduced by waste and by pardons to official persons to about 3,500*l.* It may be conjectured that this reduction was made in consequence of the compact called the charter of Henry I., in which he promises the abolition of all evil customs. If the number of hides in the country was, as it is sometimes stated, 243,600, the ancient Danegeld must have raised a sum of 24,360*l.* It is, however, more probable that the sums which appear under the head of Danegeld in the rolls, and which were unquestionably all the produce of the tax which reached the royal treasury, are simply the amounts paid by the sheriffs as the ferm of the Danegeld. I am not aware

¹ The Confessor is said to have seen the devil sitting on the money bags. Brompton, 942, and Leard's *Lives*, p. 207. The author of the *Dialogus* says, that it was an annual charge up to the Conquest, and that the Conqueror discontinued it; but see below. On the contrary, Stephen, in his charter of Oxford (Brompton, 1024), says that it had been levied annually, and this agrees with the Pipe Roll.

² *Dialogus de Scaccario*, p. 27. "Noluit hoc ut annum solvi quod

" fuerat urgente necessitate bellicae
" tempestatis exactum, nec tamen
" omnino propter inopinatos casus
" dimitti. Raro igitur temporibus
" illius vel successorum ipsius solu-
" tas est."

³ As to the alleged revaluation of the lands by Ranulf Flambard, for the purpose of increasing the Danegeld, see Orderic Vit. viii. 8; Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, iv. 60-61; Lappenberg (ed. Thorpe), iii. 226.

that this theory has ever been stated, but it would seem not improbable for several reasons. The great oppressiveness of the Danegeld of two shillings on the hide would render its collection a matter of difficulty, and it would never be raised without considerable loss. A fixed sum, on the other hand, must be paid into the treasury. It is possible that this sum was fixed on a low average, and that the sheriffs collected as well as they could the old tax, keeping for their own pay the difference between the sum collected and the sum paid in. If this were so, we can account for the fact that the Danegeld was still reputed in 1178 to be a tax of two shillings on the hide, whilst the actual receipt of the exchequer was very small.

It may be questioned, however, further, whether the Danegeld itself was not compounded before it reached the hands of the sheriff, on the same principle on which forfeitures and reliefs were fixed at an almost nominal sum in the reign of Henry I. A man who owned twenty hides might be allowed to pay Danegeld for five, on the same principle that an abbot who owned twenty knights fees was allowed to pay scutage for a fourth part.

Some countenance for the theory may be derived from the circumstances which are recorded by Becket's biographers as having taken place in the council at Woodstock, on the first of July 1163. On that occasion we are told that Henry wished to enter in the exchequer accounts, and add to his own revenues, a sum of "two shillings on the hide, which were given to the king's servants, who in the post of sheriffs kept the counties." Thomas resisted this claim. "We will not give this sum as revenue, saving your pleasure, but if the sheriffs and the servants and ministers of the provinces serve us well and support our vassals, we will not be wanting in their assistance."¹ This

¹ This story is told by four of strong consensus. Grim, S. T. C. S. Thomas's biographers with a i. 21. Roger of Pontigny, S. T. C.

Questions
as to the
Danegeld.

Was it com-
pounded
for?

Proceedings
of the
council of
Woodstock
in 1163.

Thomas
Becket's
resistance
to the king
at Wood-
stock.

tax can be no other than the Danegeld, and Henry's object may have been to collect the entire sum into the treasury instead of the miserable fixed amounts which were paid in by the sheriffs. Whether Thomas appeared as the advocate of the sheriffs, who would be the first losers by the change, or of the people, is not clear, but the proposal to render "auxilium" voluntarily to the sheriffs instead of payment, does not favour the former supposition; such a proposal, on the other hand, comes with an ill grace from the statesman who had substituted fixed payments for personal service in the case of the scutage. The subject is one of the most obscure in the whole of Becket's history. It is possible, however, that Henry's purpose was simply to revive the payment of Danegeld; and if this were so, it was defeated by the primate's opposition, for no such tax was collected after the eighth year of Henry's reign,¹ the year preceding the council of Woodstock.

Danegeld
comes to an
end under
Henry II.

Notwithstanding Ralph Niger's assertion that Henry renewed the ancient Danegeld (a statement which may have been made in reference to the scene at Woodstock), it is certain that the abolition or permanent disuse of the tax is to be attributed to this king. It was collected in the second year of his reign, in very nearly if not exactly the same gross amount as in the 31st Henry I. From the third to the seventh years it was disused; in the eighth it was collected in the same sums again, and after that it disappears until the 20th year,² when, although summonses were issued for the collection of it, there is no evidence to show that it was actually paid, unless the word is used simply as a synonym for talliage.

i. 21. Garnier (quoted by Robertson, 329), 65. Will. Cantuar. S. T. C.
ii. 5. Compare Robertson's *Becket*, App. IX.

¹ Madox thought that the accounts of Danegeld ceased after the second year; but he did not see the

roll of the eighth year, which has been recovered since his time; and in which the receipts for Danegeld are entered. Cf. Hist. Exch. 479, &c.

² Madox, *Exchequer*, 479.

It may be fairly a matter of conjecture whether this practical abrogation of the tax was owing to a wish on Henry's part to prove himself a worthy successor of the Confessor, or to a conviction that it was an unprofitable, unpopular, and impolitic impost, a small portion only of which reached the exchequer; or whether the facts that during the years of Becket's chancellorship the Dane-geld was not exacted, that in the year of his resignation it reappears, and that in the following year, after a stout resistance on his part, it was finally disused, point to the second martyr of Canterbury as the real deliverer from the tax, which in its first form the first martyr of Canterbury, St. Elphege, had resisted to the death. The carucage which was levied by Richard I. in his eighth year was, however, to all intents and purposes a revival of this odious impost.

Cause of the abolition of the tax.

The next item of ancient revenue was the *donum*, or *auxilium*, names which bear evidence to their original nature of contributions by the vassals to assist the necessities of their lords. The former term is applied to the sums raised by the counties, the latter to those by the towns. This impost varied in amount on occasion, and there is no reason to suppose that it was an annual tax. It seems to have answered to what was known somewhat later by the name of talliage, and in the thirty-first of Henry I. appears only in the form of *auxilium burgorum*, being probably intended to be to the towns what Dane-geld was to the country.

III. The *donum* and *auxilium*.

The second year of Henry II. was marked by some variations from the older practice, which may be ascribed with tolerable certainty to the advice of Becket as chancellor. It was no doubt a year of extraordinary charges, and one in which the more elastic methods of raising a revenue by making up the arrears of legal proceedings could not be brought into effective working. We find in it accordingly the disappearance of Dane-geld, coupled with the new arrangement of the *donum*,

Changes in 1156.

which brought all classes of the population under contribution.

Scutage,
hidage, and
talliage.

Scutage on
the clergy
in 1156.

From this time the donum may be taken as the general name of the irregular impost. It was called also *auxilium*, from the purpose which it was intended to serve, and hidage, scutage, or talliage, from the mode of collection or special character of the impost. The talliage or *auxilium burgorum* was levied on the towns, the scutage or donum militum on the knights' fees, and the hidage or donum simply on the tenants in socage. The peculiar measure of the second year was the collection of scutage from the knights' fees holding of ecclesiastical superiors, a measure which met with much opposition from archbishop Theobald at the time.¹ The amount actually accounted for on the roll, as raised by this scutage, was small, reaching altogether to not more than 500*l*. The donum comitatus and *auxilium burgorum* raised the same year about 2,700*l*. The whole sum accounted for on the year, with the addition of the profits of law proceedings and feudal incidents, is not much more than 22,000*l*. The donum of the fourth year was collected in a different form and in different relative proportions. It is possible that we should connect with the scutage on the clergy in the second year the ordinance which, as we learn from Robert de Monte,² was made in the third year for the war in Wales, that every two knights or tenants in chivalry should join to equip a third, by which means, if we are to understand it literally, 90,000 knights would appear from 60,000 knights' fees. The scutage of 1156

¹ This is the scutage referred to by John of Salisbury, ep. 128, in terms which would imply that it was really levied to enable Henry to make war on his brother Geoffrey. "Verum interim scutagium remittere non potest, et a quibusdam exactionibus abstinere, quo-

"niam fratris gratia male sarta nequidquam coit, &c."

² Ad ann. 1157. "Circa festivitatem S. Johannis Baptistæ rex Henricus præparavit maximam expeditionem, ita ut duo milites de tota Anglia tertium pararent, ad opprimendum Gallensem terram et mari."

was also for the war in Wales, and may have been the share borne by the dignified clergy of the increased burden borne by the knights in kind.

The term scutage, as is well known, acquired later the meaning of commutation for military service, and the tax imposed for the war of Toulouse¹ is commonly stated to have been the first occasion of its collection in this form. For this payment a general levy of revenue was made, and as this undoubtedly touched every knight's fee, as well as every other source of income, it is called by the contemporary historians a scutage. It does not appear from the Pipe Rolls to have differed materially from the tax of the second year; the whole sum accounted for under the head of donum is short of 11,000*l.*, of which the clergy and their knights' fees paid 3,700*l.*, the towns about 2,500*l.*, the rest falls under the head of donum militum, or scutage proper, with a few miscellaneous contributions. It is singular that the mention of the war of Toulouse, or of the commutation of service, does not occur in the rolls for this year, and that Alexander Swereford, the compiler of the Red Book of the Exchequer, supposed that the donum was raised for a war on the Welsh marches. A second scutage was raised in the seventh year (1161), probably for payment of debts incurred for the same war, the assessment being in this, as in the former case, two marks to the knight's fee. It is possibly to the joint sum of these two scutages that the words of Gervase are to be applied when he states that the whole scutage for the war of Toulouse raised in England was 180,000*l.* of silver.² If it was indeed so,

Scutage as a commutation for military service.

Scutages of the reign of Henry II.

Scutage of the war of Toulouse.

¹ It was the scutage of Toulouse which was alleged against Thomas Becket by his enemies, (Gilb. Foliot, ep. 194), and which his friends thought was the cause of his misfortunes. Joh. Salisb. ep. 145.

² Gervase, 1381. "Hoc anno rex Henricus Scotagium sive scutagium de Anglia recepit cujus summa fuit centum millia et quaterviginti millia librarum argenti." See Hume, Hist. Engl. I., note P.

Question
as to the
amount
raised for
the war of
Toulouse.

the only conclusion we can come to is that the rolls are sadly incomplete; but there is a roundness in the sum that tempts a doubt. By Robert de Monte we are told that the scutage of the king's foreign dominions was sixty shillings Angevin¹ to the knight's fee. If we suppose that Gervase had simply calculated the English scutage at sixty shillings sterling, the sum raised on 60,000 knights' fees would of course be exactly 180,000*l.* We know, however, that the sum was two contributions of two marks, that is 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the fee. This would raise 160,000*l.* in the gross. But if the amount actually raised in the seventh year corresponded with that of the fifth, the whole was not a fifth of that sum. It is, however, impossible to come to an exact conclusion without fuller data than exist even in the rolls themselves. We do not know either the real number of knights' fees in England, or the number on which the tax was levied.

Scutage of
Wales.

Aid pur fille
marier.

Another scutage was levied in the eleventh year for the army of Wales, accompanied by a talliage on the towns. The aid pur fille marier in the fourteenth year, a mark to the fee, was collected in exactly the same manner by scutage and talliage, but owing to several causes was much more productive than any former aid. This particular description of aid requires no remark; it had been levied before for the marriage of the king's mother, and was not imposed in addition to other taxes.

Scutage of
Ireland.

It is in the eighteenth year that we find the scutage distinctly taking the character of a commutation,² or

¹ R. de Monte, ad 1159. "Nolens
" vexare agrarios milites nec bur-
" gensem, nec rusticorum multitu-
" dinem, sumptis 60 solidis Ande-
" gavensibus in Normannia de feudo
" uniuscujusque lorice, et de reli-
" quis omnibus tam in Normannia
" quam in Anglia, sive etiam aliis
" terris suis, secundum hoc quod ei
" visum fuit, capitales barones suos

" cum paucis secum duxit, solida-
" rios vero milites innumeros."

² The account given in the Dia-
logus is this: "Fit interdum, ut
" imminente vel insurgente in reg-
" num hostium machinatione, de-
" cernat rex de singulis feodis mili-
" tum summam aliquam solvi, mar-
" cam scilicet vel libram unam,
" unde militibus stipendia vel dona-

perhaps it may be called a fine in lieu of military service. It was for the Irish expedition, and amounted to twenty shillings on the fee on those knights who sent neither soldiers nor money for the expedition. The only other Scutage of Galloway. scutage of the reign was that for the Galloway expedition in the thirty-third year, which was accompanied by a general talliage.

These imposts exhaust the list of the extraordinary Talliares on demesne. taxes of the reign, with the exception of the talliares on demesne, imposed in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-third years. The last of these was probably expended on the preparations for war in France, which throughout the spring seemed imminent, the other two in repairing the damage done in the rebellion of the year 1173.

This brief review is enough to enable us to estimate Statements of Ralph Niger and William of Newburgh. the historical value of the statements of Ralph Niger and William of Newburgh. The former states that Henry II. renewed the Danegeld, enacted new laws annually for the purpose of gain, and depressed nearly all his subjects with scutages, recognitions, and various alluvions of oppressions. William of Newburgh,¹ on the contrary, affirms that he never laid a single heavy burden on either England or his foreign possessions until he imposed the Saladin tithe. The latter statement is undoubtedly nearer the truth. On the other hand, William of Newburgh acquits

" tiva succedant. Mavult enim
" princeps stipendarios quam do-
" mesticos bellicis apponere casibus.
" Hæc itaque summa, quia nomine
" scutorum solvitur, scutagium nun-
" cupatur." It had not yet acquired
the restricted sense exclusively, for
the tax raised for the redemption of
Richard I., which was technically an
aid, was raised by a scutage. The
goods of knights or persons holding
by knight service of a superior lord

might be sold to pay their lord's
scutage if he was a defaulter, " ratio
" namque scutagiorum milites suos
" magna pro parte respicit, quia
" non nisi de militibus et ratione
" militis regi debentur." Dial.
p. 52. This law applied only to
scutage (in commutation of service),
not to a simple *donum*, and not to
tenants *in capite*, p. 54.

¹ iii. 26.

Henry's
exactions
from the
church.

him of imposing tribute on the churches and monasteries, although he allows the truth of the accusation of Ralph, that he kept benefices vacant for the sake of the profits.¹ Possibly in William's estimation the consent of S. Thomas took from the scutage on church fees its sacrilegious character.

IV. Profits
of placita.

The revenue raised from legal proceedings, on which Ralph Niger pours his especial vituperation, constitutes from the time of the Assize of Clarendon a very important item in the national accounts. It does not seem, however, in any year to have reached the amount raised by the same means in the thirty-first of Henry I. The placita of the itinerant justices and justices of the forest begin to appear in the rolls of 1166, the levies on purprestures emerging at the same time. From 1175 downwards we find entries of the placita Curie and of the exchequer at uncertain intervals. Oblata Curie appear under distinct headings from the time of the establishment of the bench in the king's court, 1178; fines for the transfer of property from the twenty-eighth year.

V. Income
from feudal
incidents.

The income arising from feudal incidents was, of course, so fluctuating that no calculation can be made to give even a fair idea of the average revenue derived from them. In a general view of the receipts it would appear that Henry II. never approached to the oppressive sums raised by his grandfather from this source. His reign is marked by no great forfeitures except those of William Peverel and Henry of Essex,² both of which were strictly legal. The escheats and seizures never remained

¹ William of Newburgh, iii. 26, gives Henry's own defence of himself. "Nonne melius est ut pecunie istæ impendantur necessarii regni negotiis quam in episcoporum absumantur deliciis? Nostri enim temporis præules veterum in se formam minime expriment, sed

"circa officium remissi et languidi
"totis mundum brachiis amplec-
"tuntur." A very bad argument, as the historian adds, considering who appointed the bishops.

² R. de Monte, ad 1155 and 1163. R. de Diceto, 531, 535.

long in the royal hands, whilst the regale in the case of ecclesiastical vacancies was pertinaciously and even illegally exerted.¹

It is clear, however, that Henry watched carefully for every opportunity of increasing this branch of his revenue. For this purpose was issued the commission of inquiry throughout England and Normandy into feudal services in 1163, which had so unfortunate an effect on Henry's relations with the archbishop, and the same was probably the cause of the inquiry entrusted to the sheriffs in 1177. A similar investigation in Normandy in 1171 is said by Robert de Monte to have had the effect of doubling the ducal revenue.

Henry's measures for securing his feudal revenues.

On a calm examination of the whole subject, it is difficult to affirm that the nation was oppressively taxed during any period of the reign. The amount of revenue accounted for in the last year of Henry, or as it is styled from the fact that the Michaelmas of 1189 fell in the next reign, the first of Richard I., is but 48,781*l.*, which stands in favourable contrast with the thirty-first of Henry I., when it reached the gross sum of 66,593*l.*²

Moderate amount appearing on the rolls.

As to the mode in which the taxes were exacted and assessed we know too little to make any categorical statement. There can, however, be little doubt that the great council was consulted before the levying of any extraordinary impost, and that the assessment of the proportion to be paid by each individual was carried out in strictly legal form. The sheriffs were not at liberty to collect the donum of the county by oppressive means, but barons of the exchequer made their circuits

Method of assessing and collecting taxes.

¹ See among innumerable proofs of this unconstitutional proceeding S. T. C. iii. 23.

² "Nullum grave regno Anglorum vel terris suis transmarinis onus unquam imposuit, usque ad

"illam novissimam decimationem, causa expeditionis Jerusalemense, que nimirum decimatio in aliis neque fiebat regionibus." W. Newb. iii. 26.

Possible employment of juries.

Reason for the supposition.

for the purpose of assessment.¹ It is certain that the knights assessed themselves by declaring their own assessable estate by a special charta stating the number of fees held by them of the Crown. In the case of socage tenants the assessment was probably made by inquest of jury, such as we find employed in the carrying out of the assize of arms and the levying the Saladin tithe. It is possible, indeed, that this expedient was used only in the case of personal property to which these particular cases apply. When, however, in the reign of Richard I. we find a new assessment of carucage enacted,² the law orders it to be carried out by two servants of the king, a clerk and a knight, who, with the sheriff of the county and lawful men elected thereto, shall after taking oath, call before them the stewards of the barons of the county, the lords of the townships, or their bailiffs or provosts, with four lawful men of the township, and two lawful knights of the hundred, who also are to swear that they will faithfully and without fraud tell what are the wainages of the carucates in each township: the moneys are to be collected by two lawful knights and the bailiff of the hundred, who are to account for them to the sheriff, and the sheriff to the

¹ Dial. p. 23. "Cognita summa quæ de comitatu requiritur communiter ab iis qui in comitatu fundos habent, per hydas distribuitur ut nihil desit de illa cum ventum fuerit ad scaccarium solutionis." In the case of towns the *downam* might be settled in two ways, either by an apportionment to individuals made by the justices, or by an offer of the burgesses of a sufficient sum raised by themselves. If they tried to excuse themselves, inquiry was made, "per fidem vicecomitis," as to their solvency. Ib. p. 51. So we find the burgesses of Horncastle assessing themselves

at a different sum from the assessment of the justices, and the latter accepting their decision. 14 Hen. II. Madox, *Hist. Exch.* p. 407.

² Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 275, gives the following dates of the further development of the principle of assessment of personal property. I. 8 John. Every individual to swear to the amount of his income. II. 9 Hen. III. If the oath of the party was doubted or disputed, an inquest summoned. III. 16 Hen. III. Individual oaths discarded, and inquests impanelled for the township or hundred.

exchequer. This act took place in 1197, but there are traces of a similar proceeding at an earlier period. The inquisitions on which Domesday was founded were drawn up from inquests of two sorts; the first of the barons with the sheriff, the bailiff of the hundred, and the king's officers; the second of the villenage, "six ceorls being returned from every township, who together with the parish priest and the town reeve, also made their statements on oath to the royal commissioners."¹ This was, perhaps, an exceptional case, but it was a good precedent: as early as the reign of Henry I. the rights of the crown were ascertained by an inquisition or recognition by a sworn inquest. In the 14th of Henry II. we find the burghers of Horncastle, by permission of the justices, assessing their own contribution *pur fille marier*, and as this is incidentally mentioned, the practice may have been general. It seems impossible for the justices to have acted without some such organization as the jury. The form was as old as Domesday, and the machinery for legal matters in perfect working. The question is obscure, probably, only because the system was in regular operation and required no notice from contemporary writers. From its occasional use, we may infer its general applicability. The importance of the facts recorded on the question of self-taxation, representation and the use of the jury, can hardly be over-stated, but they belong more distinctly to the two following reigns.

Earlier traces of juries for local purposes.

Among the minor matters of the exchequer business the coinage received a large share of the king's attention. Twice, at least, during the reign a new currency was put into circulation, and very strict measures were taken to preserve its integrity. In this respect Henry no doubt felt himself to be carrying out the provisions

Coinage.

¹ Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 272.

of the treaty by which the throne was secured to him at Wallingford.

Restoration
of the coin-
age under
Henry II.

We are to understand by this the restoration of the standard value of the coin, the debasement of which had been one of the charges laid by public opinion against Stephen;¹ and the abolition of the coinage of those usurping nobles who, amongst the other royal rights which they had arrogated, had each for himself coined money with his own mark. But Henry's measures went further still. He abolished the local differences of the coinage which had subsisted from the days of the Heptarchy, and instituted a uniform currency for the whole kingdom. Further, by insisting on the payment at the exchequer of the lawful coin of the realm only,² he threw out of circulation the debased money which was still current in his foreign territories. His proceedings were not, indeed, altogether successful: the next reign witnessed another attempt to enforce a uniform system of weights and measures: even to the present day we are experiencing how powerful local customs in this respect are against law and common sense, as well as against the empirical innovations of financial theorists. But the reformation of the coinage was probably in a great measure completed, and it must have been in the first instance, at least, a welcome change to a nation weary of the debased, mutilated, and mongrel coin which had afforded so much room for exaction, cheatery, and litigation.

¹ W. Malmesb. Hist. Nov. ii. p. 712.

² *Dialogus de Scaccario*, p. 5.
 "Postquam rex illustris cujus laus
 "est in rebus magnis excellentior,
 "sub monarchia sua per universum
 "regnum unum pondus et unam
 "monetam instituit, omnis comi-
 "tatus una legis necessitate teneri
 "et generalis commercii solutione
 "cœpit obligari; omnes itaque idem

"monetæ genus quomodocunque
 "teneant solvant." Up to the time
 of Henry II. Northumberland and
 Cumberland paid in mixed money.
 Money in England might be pro-
 nounced false on three grounds,
 "in falso scilicet pondere, in falsa
 "lege, in falsa imagine." *Ib.* p. 6.
 The second probably referred to
 coin discarded and withdrawn from
 circulation.

The new coinage was ready in 1158. It is referred by Hoveden to the year 1156, but it was probably a measure which required some time for general acceptance, and was accompanied by very severe measures against the fraudulent moneyers. These are mentioned in the rolls of the second year of the reign as punished by mutilation. The first notice in the accounts, of *Communitio Monetæ*, occurs in 1158: the former proceedings were, therefore, in all probability preliminary to a general enforcement of the act, which, however generally welcome, would necessarily be attended with cases of individual hardship.

The new coinage of 1180 was not favourably received,¹ nor are we informed of the circumstances which rendered it necessary. It may, however, have been required owing to the fraudulent management of the moneyers,² who were very severely punished, being carted in fetters two and two to the king's court, where they were compelled to redeem themselves with a heavy fine. An assize was issued by which the payment of the old coin was declared unlawful after Martinmas, and a new coinage was struck under the superintendence of Philip Aymar, a native of Touraine. Philip unfortunately neglected to restrict himself to lawful transactions and was discovered to be conniving at the villanies of the moneyers in the exchequer. The fact that he escaped punishment on this occasion whilst minor offenders were severely treated, is somewhat suspicious. He was pardoned and escaped by the king's connivance to France.³

¹ William of Newburgh, iii. 5, states that it was owing to the debasement "*a falsaria*," but whether this means forgers, or dishonest moneyers, is not clear; probably the latter; he adds, "*quod quidem ratione utilitatis publicæ pro tempore erat necessarium sed regni*

"*pauperibus et colonis nimis onerosum.*"

² Even the carelessness of the moneyers was very heavily punished. Dial. p. 19. Although the writer allows that "*in moneta generaliter peccatur ab omnibus.*"

³ Cf. R. de Diceto, 611. Gervase, 1457. W. Newb. iii. 5.

New coinage in 1158.

New coinage in 1180.

Punishment of the moneyers.

Punishment for clipping. But the same year, Idonea, a London lady,¹ probably a Jewess, was mutilated for clipping, and her chattels, to wit, 9*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* in money, five marks in blank silver, nine small gold rings, and three gold fermailles, were paid into the exchequer by the sheriffs. As late as 1184, one Richard of Stokes was in trouble for using the old coin in exchange contrary to the assize. And in 1189, the sheriff of Cumberland was under a fine for the same.² The whole proceeding was unpopular, and the leniency with which the principal offender was treated is possibly to be explained much to Henry's discredit. Ralph Niger, as usual, seizes on the opportunity for invective, and tells us that the king, "being himself corrupted by archbishop Richard, suffered the coinage to be corrupted, and, nevertheless, hanged the corrupters of it."³

Charge against the king.

Henry's military system.

Henry's management of military affairs savoured strongly of his favourite policy. Of the three possible systems, the ancient Anglo-Saxon plan of arming the whole nation for the common defence was not available for external war; the divided command and jealousy that pervaded a feudal host, and the short period of feudal service, rendered the profitable employment of such assemblages almost impossible; and the name of mercenaries was so abhorrent to the English people that an attempt to support a standing army of such materials would have been a signal for rebellion. Henry acted wisely in the way in which he dealt with these elements.

Use of scutage in commutation.

The adoption of scutages in commutation of personal service enabled the king to call to his assistance only those feudal retainers on whom he might confidently rely; the others were glad to be excused attendance, and their contributions were more valuable than their presence. The length of a campaign was no longer limited by the forty

¹ Madox, *Hist. Exch.* 189.

note to Dial. de Scacc. 21. Pipe Roll of 1 Rich. I., p. 137.

² Madox, *Hist. Exch.* 191, and

³ R. Niger, p. 168.

days of feudal obligation, and the payment of the force which consented to lengthen its term of service at the king's bidding was defrayed from this source, or the native population spared by the employment of Welshmen or Brabantines. The war of Toulouse was thus conducted, the king leading to it his chief vassals in person with small retinues, but an innumerable host of soldiers, *solidarii*.¹ On one occasion, in 1177,² Henry did make a grand demonstration of the old sort, and collected the whole feudal force of the kingdom at Portsmouth for an invasion of France, but on almost every other occasion of foreign warfare he employed mercenaries. The campaigns in Ireland and Galloway, which can hardly be looked on as foreign wars, were fought by feudal levies; but in the former at least of these cases there was a distinct intention of employing at a distance elements that were dangerous at home; it was a case of feudal colonization and to be effected by feudal means. It does not appear that Henry thought himself strong enough to interfere directly with the rights of the great vassals in this respect. He could dismantle their castles, imprison their persons, and make it impossible for them to reclaim their longed-for capacity of making private war, but supposing them to be at liberty and in possession of their estates, he would have been infringing the fundamental law of feudalism if he had attempted to meddle with their own relations to their vassals.

Soldiers hired with the produce of the scutage.

Feudal muster in 1177.

The feudal military system continues to exist.

It was his interest however that England should be a military power; only the leading of that power must be in the king himself. It was necessary to foster a military spirit without giving it the opportunity of being used to the prejudice of the royal power. Happily Henry

Henry's plan for training the nation to arms.

¹ R. de Monte. "Capitales barones suos cum paucis, . . . solidarios vero innumeros." The king of Scotland, a Welsh king, and all the counts and barons of

England, Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and Gascony, were there in person. Gerv. 1381.

² Ben. Pet. i. 168, 190.

Difficulties
of the case.

saw a way, and had the means, of maintaining such a spirit in the heart of the nation. If the national defence had been left to feudalism, the country must have relapsed into anarchy; if it had been entrusted to mercenaries, a military despotism must have resulted: if, on the other hand, the modern principle of creating a national military spirit had been forestalled, England might have become a nation of soldiers, a scourge of the western world.

The remains
of the old
Anglo-Saxon
military
system.

The national militia, the legitimate successor of the Anglo-Saxon fyrd, seems to have subsisted in its integrity until the reign of Stephen.¹ This force had helped to defeat the Scots at the battle of the Standard,² and chiefly contributed to the suppression of the rebellion of 1173.³ On both these occasions the conquering army partook in great measure of the character of a tumultuary levy. It was in the latter case the *posse comitatus*, under the leading of the sheriffs whose fidelity the king had secured by the judicial measures of the preceding years. But although this doubtless contributed to the success of the organization, it is clear from the history that the freemen of the nation, the body from which this force was drawn, were faithful to the king and instinctively hostile to the feudal rebels. The same feeling also pervaded the town populations, and united for patriotic purposes the two elements which were least likely to be deluded by the dreams of military glory, the traders and the cultivator of the land.

Henry's
assize of
arms.

It was perhaps from this experience that Henry learned the real value of this force and the reliance to be placed upon them. And accordingly, when in 1181 he took measures for organizing the defence of his whole domi-

¹ Cf. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, ii., cccxxiii.

² Richard of Hexham, 321. The archbishop of York ordered every parish priest to attend with all the

parishioners capable of fighting. Ailred, *Bellum Standardii*, Twysden, 338.

³ B. Petr. i. 65, 68. R. de Diceto, 574.

nions against the ambitious yearnings of Philip II., he included the whole free population in his famous assize of arms.¹ This legislative act was not confined to England,² and its importance in this respect must therefore not be exaggerated. It is the inclusion of the whole free population in the general measure, not their distinct organization, that is important. The act enforced on all freemen the duty of providing arms according to their capacity, beginning with the landholders and descending to those who possessed ten marks in chattels, including indeed all burghers and freemen. The proper equipment of each rank was defined particularly, and means ordained for carrying out the statute. The sale and exportation of arms were forbidden, and the settlement of the legal status of every freeman is placed in the hands of justices, to be ascertained by the oath of lawful men of the hundred. By this ordinance was consolidated and organized a force which could be depended on to save the country from hostile invasion, and that class was trained in the use of arms, from which in after times the conquerors of Creci and Agincourt were drawn. Subsequent legislation by Edward I. in the statute of Winchester, Henry IV., Philip and Mary, and James I., has served to maintain to our own day in the form of militia the primeval institution of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers.³

The assize of arms of 1181.

It is no wonder that Henry, whilst providing for the defence of England by the militia, and having rid himself of the hazardous services and precarious faithfulness of the feudal armies, should have availed himself of the use of mercenaries in his foreign wars. Some portion of those in his pay were Welshmen,⁴ who had taken service under him at the end of the Welsh war; but the greater

Henry's employment of mercenaries.

¹ Ben. Pet. i. 278.

² Ben. Pet. i. 269, 270, shows that it was first published abroad.

³ Cf. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 305, &c., and ii., cccxviii., &c.

⁴ B. P. i. 74., ii. 46. R. de Monte, 915.

Character of
the merce-
naries.

part was composed of those fearful engines of slaughter, the Brabançon and Basque mercenaries.¹ The use of paid foreign soldiers had prevailed since the reign of the Conqueror, and these had been generally drawn from the Low Countries which furnished so large a portion of the first crusaders, and were known in England as Flemings. In many cases they were doubtless soldiers formed and trained amid the hardships of the crusades, who had concluded their salvation and rid themselves of their conscience by the same service. But about the mercenaries of the latter half of the twelfth century there are features that can hardly be traced to this original. Sprung, no doubt, in the first instance from the lands whose names they bore, they had practised for generations, it would seem, a trade of war, recruiting their numbers by the incorporation of criminals, and by the children borne to them in almost promiscuous concubinage. The historians of the time seldom speak of them without horror, as constituting a race by themselves, without nationality, country, or religion.² The names they bore were not those of the Christian saints; they were excommunicated by the church; they were attached by no tie but pay to the leader who employed them, and with him treachery and cruelty were the chief characteristics of their relation. They were frequently led by banished or landless lords, who, raising the sinews of war by means of plunder, were eager to take advantage of any disturbance to obtain a settled position. Henry, abiding by the spirit of the treaty of Wallingford, abstained, on all but one occasion

¹ Geoffrey of Vigorns (Labbe, ii. 328) enumerates the nations, "Primo Basculi, postmodum Teutonici Flandrenses, et ut rustice loquar, Brabantenses, Hannovers, Asperes, Pailler, Navar, Turlan, Vales, Roma, Cotarel, Catalans, Aragonese." Under several of these names they were condemned

in the Lateran Council of 1179, in the same canon with the heretics, the Cathari and Publicani. Cf. R. de Diceto, 590. R. de Monte, 923.

² See Gervase, 1461, who tells us that their camp was a place of refuge for profligate monks, canons, nuns, outlaws of all sorts.

during his reign, from introducing these mercenaries into England; and on this he was warranted by their employment on the side of the rebels. In 1173 the Earl of Leicester, and Hugh Bigot in the following year, had introduced a large force of Flemings into the Eastern counties. The former was defeated at Forneham, and lost ten thousand Flemings in the battle; the latter was forced to submit by Henry himself, and his mercenaries with reluctance suffered to return to Flanders. In this war the count of Flanders was in alliance with the rebels, and the mercenaries were, in a measure, protected by the character of belligerents from the fate of pirates. Henry himself was accompanied by his Brabançons;¹ but as they landed only on the 8th of July, and embarked for return on the 7th of August, they had not time to effect much mischief. It is here only that they touch English history during this reign.

In 1181, Hugh de Puiset, count of Bar on the Seine, an adventurer who had been instrumental in introducing the Flemings into England in 1173, proposed to lead a body of these troops on a crusade. The pope, however, seeing the disgrace to Christendom which would arise from the employment of such wretches, suggested that the Mahometans of Spain were fitter objects for his zeal, and directed him, as a work of penance, to lead his soldiers against them: but the proposition fell to the ground.

It is unnecessary to pursue them through the reigns of Richard and John; but it may be observed that they were undoubtedly the precursors of the famous free companies of the following centuries, which were known by the name of Catalans, or among the Greeks by the more heathenish name of Almugavarea.³ It may even be a question whether the mysterious proscribed races

¹ W. Newburgh, ii. 32. R. de Monte, 915. Gerv. 1427. R. de Diceto, 576.

² Ben. Pet. i. 276.

³ Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall.* c. 62. vol. viii. p. 32.

existing in some parts of Europe may not be the descendants of some of these detested bodies of men.

Henry's relations with the Great Council of the nation.

So many questions turn upon the character, status, and actual powers of the Great Council of the nation, that it would be presumptuous as well as useless to attempt an examination of the subject in this preface. It does, however, occupy so prominent a place in the annals of the reign that it is impossible to pass it over. Although in several respects our knowledge of the subject is complete, it is very difficult to draw from the facts any trustworthy conclusions. We know the character of the persons who composed the assembly, the manner of their deliberations, the times of their meetings, and the subjects of their discussions. But we do not know the actual importance attached to their proceedings, and we have a very faint knowledge of their real power in either legislation or taxation.

Composition of the Great Council in the reign of Henry II.

The persons who composed the assembly are described exactly enough, "the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, " barons, knights, and free tenants in chief of the king." In this enumeration we trace a combination of the character of the Anglo-Saxon council with the feudal court. The archbishops, bishops, and abbots retained the places they had held among the sapientes of the old system; the barons, knights, and free tenants in chief owe their position as clearly to the land tenure of the new. The earls in theory fulfil both conditions; they are at once the comites, the geniths of the old, and the most important of the barons of the new system; but as earls their position was purely that of the old sapientes: they were neither in theory nor in fact representatives of their earldoms in any other sense than that in which every baron represented his own tenants. All these classes were, however, feudal tenants of the king, for the few cases in which foreign prelates and Norman barons sat in the English councils are insufficient to prove that the king ever gave a place to one who had not a right to

it, either by his position in the church or by his tenure. We can have no hesitation in identifying them with the proper constituents of the feudal court of the king as Lord Paramount of the land. But they are not the less the national council, the direct successors of the Witenagemote; the sapientes and sapientiores of the nation. The two characters were perfectly compatible, and the limited number of persons qualified to take part in either capacity, and the abolition of any tenure which would allow of the existence of a class of influential men not dependent directly on the king, necessitated such a union. Whether, however, the legal status of the assembly when it met was that of a feudal court or of a national council, or both; or whether the question of legal status ever occurred to its members, or was clearer to them than it is to us, are matters on which, as there are few grounds of argument, there will always be abundance of discussion.¹ The position of the spiritual lords, who only could trace their right to seats to a period earlier than the institution of the baronial tenure, and whose liberties only were provided for in the national charters, saves the incipient parliament from the definite character of a feudal court. So long as they sat in virtue of their spiritual office, the great council was a national assembly. Of the other members there were none who did not both theoretically and actually owe their places to the king, to their position in his household, or to the tenure of their estates; nor could it be a question with them whether their place was due to their personal, or to their official, or to their territorial qualification; the earls no longer represented their counties, the sheriffs, who might in some measure have done so, sat not as sheriffs, but as tenants in chief of the crown.

It is not clear what proportion of the classes summoned actually attended the councils. Except in the

¹ See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii., &c. Allen on the Prerogative, &c. &c.

Attendance
of the per-
sons sum-
moned.

case of the higher members we have no data for a conjecture. The knights and free tenants in chief were summoned, but in the indefinite language of the chroniclers we cannot find any basis for calculation. The immense multitudes, who occasionally are mentioned as attending, are evidence of the publicity of the whole transaction, not of the numbers of the councillors. It is probable that few of the inferior tenants attended, who neither were the ordinary suitors of the county where the parliament was held, nor had business of their own to transact. The theory, however, of a representative body was perfect; each tenant in chief representing and answering for his own mesne tenants, although the principles of delegation and election, already in use for other purposes, could not, so long as the council continued to be summoned in feudal terms, be made available for this. In this point the reign of Henry II. does not furnish us with details showing any process of change. The exclusion from the court, by the decree of Woodstock of 1175,¹ of those members who had been in rebellion during the previous years, unless called up by special summons, is construed to prove the adoption of summonses in this reign; but the argument is unnecessary, for the use of summonses, not as a matter of law so much as of necessity, is clear enough at an earlier period; whilst the character of the summons, its generality or speciality, is not touched by the case.

Henry's
frequent
employment
of councils.

Henry began his reign with an attempt at least to maintain the forms of the old constitution in respect to these assemblies, and a similar feeling may be traced in the transactions of the years which he was able to devote without interruption to English business.² These

¹ Ben. Pet. i. 93. Cf. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, iii. 9.

² A general reference for authorities for the subject may be made

to the Itinerary, given in the Appendix to the Preface to the present Volume.

years were indeed very few ; out of the thirty-four which his reign contained, not more than twelve and a quarter altogether, and out of these only seven terms of twelve months consecutively, were spent in England. The proceedings of these years may be taken as specimens of what his notion of constitutional routine would have been had it been possible to carry it out.

Short periods of his visits to England.

I. In the year 1155 he traversed the whole of England, partly for political, partly for judicial purposes. He held great councils at London,¹ Wallingford,² Bridgenorth,³ Winchester,⁴ and Westminster.⁵ We are not told whether on any of these occasions he wore his crown ; but as they did not synchronize with any of the great festivals of the church, and as the military character of his movements probably decided the place of assembly more than the intention of reviving the old judicial placita of the three districts of the kingdom, it is likely that he did not.

Councils in 1155.

II. Between April 1157 and August 1158 was a year of internal peace. During this period and this only, the king wore his crown and held his court *de more* on the great festivals ; at Pentecost, 1157, at St. Edmunds,⁶ at Christmas at Lincoln,⁷ and at Easter, 1158, at Worcester ;⁷ all either in the Danelage or the Merchenalage. After which, the chronicler tells us he wore his crown no more.⁸ On all these occasions great councils were held, archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, free tenants, and people attending. A fourth council was held at Northampton⁹ in July 1157, in which we are not told whether or no the ceremony was performed. But it was in all probability an important military gathering,

In 1157 and 1158, Henry wears his crown.

¹ Gervase, 1377.

² Gervase, 1378. R. de Monte, 886.

³ Chron. Battle, 75.

⁴ R. de Monte, 887.

⁵ Chron. Battle, 76.

⁶ Chron. Battle, 85.

⁷ Hoveden, 281.

⁸ R. de Diceto, 531. See Sir H. Ellis' pref. to John of Oxenides, p. xviii.

⁹ Gervase, 1380.

and may have been assembled for the further purpose of levying a donum for the Welsh war.

Councils in
1163 and
1164.

III. and IV. The years 1163 and 1164 were spent in England. Of the legislative importance of their transactions there can be no doubt; but we may notice, perhaps, as a feature of change, that the councils are not called only to the provincial capitals, but also to the *penetralia regum*, the forest palaces of Windsor, Woodstock, Marlborough, and Clarendon. In 1163 we have assemblies at Windsor,¹ Woodstock,² and Westminster;³ in 1164 at Clarendon,⁴ Reading,⁵ and Northampton.⁶ Of these those of Woodstock and Clarendon were as clearly national councils as those of Westminster and Northampton.

Councils in
1175, 1176,
and 1177.

V. and VI. Between May 1175 and August 1177, councils were held at Reading at Pentecost,⁷ at Gloucester,⁸ Woodstock,⁹ Nottingham,¹⁰ and Windsor,¹¹ in 1175; in 1176 at Northampton,¹² London,¹³ Winchester,¹⁴ and Westminster;¹⁵ in 1177 at Northampton,¹⁶ London,¹⁷ Oxford,¹⁸ and Winchester,¹⁹ the latter a military levy and council of war; moreover, during this period the king made two circuits of the southern and one of the northern counties.

Councils in
1178, 1179,
and 1180.

VII. Between July 1178 and April 1180 we have less satisfactory evidence; but courts were certainly held at Christmas and Easter at Winchester,²⁰ again at Pente-

¹ R. de Anesty, ap. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, ii., xxiii.

² R. de Diceto, 536.

³ Gervase, 1384.

⁴ R. de Diceto, 536.

⁵ R. de Monte, 899.

⁶ R. de Diceto, 537.

⁷ B. P. i. 91.

⁸ B. P. i. 92.

⁹ B. P. i. 93.

¹⁰ B. P. i. 94.

¹¹ B. P. i. 103.

¹² B. P. i. 107.

¹³ B. P. i. 116.

¹⁴ B. P. i. 118.

¹⁵ B. P. i. 124.

¹⁶ B. P. i. 132.

¹⁷ B. P. i. 154.

¹⁸ B. P. i. 162.

¹⁹ B. P. i. 178.

²⁰ B. P. i. 221, 228.

oost;¹ at Nottingham² at Christmas, 1179, and at Reading,³ in Lent, 1180.

Nearly, if not all of the assemblies here enumerated were meetings of the Great Council of the nation. To many of them the attendance of the kings of Scotland, with their barons and bishops, and of the princes of Wales, gave the character of an imperial parliament. In particular, Malcolm, king of Scotland, attended a court at Chester in 1157, at which he did homage, and another at Carlisle in 1158.⁴ During great part of the former year he was in attendance on Henry and he followed him to the war of Toulouse.⁵ In 1163 he was present again, and did homage to father and son at Woodstock, in the council at which the Danegeld was debated.⁶ William the Lion, who succeeded to the crown in 1165, attended the Easter council at Windsor in 1170,⁷ and with his barons did homage to the younger king at Westminster the day after the coronation. After his release from captivity in 1175 he was more frequently in attendance at the royal councils. He was present at the great council of Northampton in January 1176,⁸ and again at court in October at Feckenham, and in June 1177 at Winchester. At Christmas 1179 he was at court at Nottingham. He paid the king a long visit in Normandy in 1181, in obedience to a peremptory summons to appear in court to answer the complaints of his bishops. In 1185 he was summoned to the council at Clerkenwell and attended in person; and in 1186 he was firmly attached to Henry by a royal marriage; four days after his marriage he sent his wife to Scotland, but himself stayed for a council at Marlborough.⁹ He was not, however, at the council of Geddington, when the

Most of these strictly national councils.

Attendance of the kings of Scotland.

¹ B. P. i. 246.

² B. P. i. 244.

³ R. de Diceto, 610.

⁴ Hoveden, 281.

⁵ R. de Monte, ap. Bouquet, xiii.

300.

⁶ R. de Diceto, 536.

⁷ B. P. i. 4.

⁸ B. P. i. 111.

⁹ B. P. i. 351.

The Scottish
barons re-
fuse to pay
the Saladin
tithe.

Fealty of
Scotland
released.

More impor-
tant na-
tional busi-
ness: legal,
financial,
feudal, and
military.

Complimen-
tary consul-
tations.

Saladin tithe was granted, and probably never saw Henry again. The Scottish barons refused to join in the payment, and defeated an arrangement between Henry and William by which the latter was to recover his castles.¹ One of the first measures of Richard I. was to release William from his feudal dependence, and to restore the castles, in return for a sum of money to be spent on the crusade. The attendance of the Welsh princes at the court was less easily obtained, and Henry had generally to make an expedition into the west to receive their homage.

Henry seems to have taken every opportunity to assemble these councils, and to have asked their advice on every possible subject. The most important of them are described as "concilium de statu regni et pace reformationis," or "de statutis regni." Of this sort were those of Bermondsey in 1155,² of London and Wallingford in 1156,² of Clarendon and Northampton in 1164, of London in 1170, of Northampton in 1176, and Windsor in 1177. Financial business was treated in others, especially in that of Woodstock in 1163, and in the council of Geddington in 1188. Others seem to have been held chiefly for the reception of fealties, others for the inquiry into feudal services, others for the organization of the army. In all these we can trace the proper character of a national as well as of a feudal assembly, although the subjects were treated, no doubt, indiscriminately; and they are constitutionally important.

Besides these, however, there were many in which matters were canvassed on which even in the present day the voice of parliament would not be consulted. The arbitration between the kings of Navarre and Castille, the application of William of Sicily for the hand

¹ B. P. ii. 44.

² Gervase, 1377.

³ Gervase, 1378.

of Johanna, and the reconciliation of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, were referred by Henry to the Great Council, and decided by him on their recommendation. In one particular we gain a glimpse of an important constitutional point, when we find the king asking of his Council leave to quit the kingdom; the cases in which it is recorded may be merely complimentary, but the form itself has considerable significance.

These details are in themselves quite insufficient to be the groundwork of a theory, but they afford a strong presumption as to the real relations between Henry and his council, the king and the parliament. If he could have dispensed with it, his calling it together on so many occasions shows that he wished to maintain constitutional forms: if he could not, the fact that these assemblies were held so regularly proves that he was able to carry on his government either through them or in the most friendly relations with them. It is probable that he could have acted without them, for the baronage was thoroughly humbled, and the adherence of the people was secured. We may infer from this that when he asked advice he wanted it, and gladly availed himself of constitutional forms for eliciting it. On the business of the kingdom it may be fairly said that a strong government such as Henry's was is always amenable to advice. Where there was no room for jealousy, good counsel was much more likely to be taken than under a balanced constitution, where each constituent is afraid to accept advice lest it should grant too much authority to the giver. The difficulties of limited monarchy arise from the indefinable limits of regal and parliamentary power. Henry was wise enough to know his own strength, and strong enough to take good advice from whatever quarter it came.

Matters did not however always work smoothly. The question of Danegeld at Woodstock, and of the acceptance of the written Consuetudines at Clarendon, are

*Private
questions
debated.*

*Did Henry
really ask
advice?*

*He might
do it with-
out jealousy.*

*Occasional
difficulties.*

Attempts at constitutional resistance.

proof that the voice of constitutional independence, at all events on the church side, could still make itself heard. It is needless to analyze the history of these contests. They are important as isolated constitutional phenomena, but they were not decided on constitutional principle, nor directly conducive to the development of constitutional liberty. Without Thomas Becket, it is true, we might never have had a Hubert Walter, a Langton, or a Winchelsey; but these men, when their time came, sought their precedents not from the days of Becket, but from the earlier times when the consent of the English people was deemed as necessary for the election of a king as for the concession of a tax.

Henry acted with respect to constitutional forms.

But however much the participation of the council in legislation and taxation may have depended on the will of the king, Henry did not assume the title or style of an absolute sovereign. His legal enactments were passed in the presence of his bishops, earls, and barons, and by the advice of his son, the king, and by the advice of the earls, knights, and vassals," or "by the common counsel of the realm," or "by the advice of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the rest of the barons of the kingdom." There was a well-drawn line between the "Commune jus regni" and the forest jurisdiction, which was the arbitrary will of the sovereign: the very maintenance of such a form was a protest against despotism. It was indeed a form which had been retained during the most oppressive periods of Norman tyranny, and when it was really only a form; but under Henry, in compliance with constitutional usage, advice was asked and given, though not always taken.

Process of making or granting a tax.

The process of taxation was not often brought forward as a subject of debate, so far at least as our chroniclers tell us: it must indeed have resembled the making of a parochial rate in the present day, far more than the granting of a tax in the imperial parliament. Men know that they must pay, and in what proportions;

direct resistance is useless: the notice of a rate is sufficient without assembling a vestry. So in the twelfth century, the barons and people knew that they were legally liable to certain calls and customarily liable to certain others. These bore the names of gifts and aids, but were really taxes as irresistible as the demand for a poor's rate. They were levied at certain periods and in ascertained amounts fixed by law, charter, or custom. When they became oppressive the people complained or rebelled, but their only means of redress was to bind the king by new oaths, and to keep him to them by force. The command of the purse-strings was not yet acquired, and an extravagant king could not be set on one side like an extravagant guardian or an improvident churchwarden. The great council at its best, or on the theory of its most enthusiastic admirers, was a very different thing from a constitutional parliament.

Process of taxation carried on apparently without the action of the council.

In this review of the internal policy of Henry II., I have, as may easily be seen, inclined to follow the old-fashioned view of the position of his reign in our history, and not the more modern one propounded but not demonstrated by Sir Francis Palgrave.¹ It is not without much thought and study that I have ventured to differ from so great an authority, from one who combined so many of the qualifications of the perfect historian—student, lawyer, and philosopher. But I must distinctly refuse to acknowledge in Henry's measures anything that should entitle his reign to be called a second conquest, or to allow that any great revolution was effected by him.

Sir Francis Palgrave's view of the reign;

In the following passage the great historian gives some of the grounds of his theory. "It is most certain that after the accession of the Plantagenets we find a very great similarity between the laws of Normandy and the laws of England. Both belonged to one active

as a period of revolution.

¹ *Normandy and England*, iii. 601.

Sir Francis
Palgrave's
theory of
the reign of
Henry II.

" and powerful sovereign, one system of administration prevailed. It was after one and the same course of business that the money was counted on the exchequer table on either side of the sea: the bailiffs in the Norman bailliages passed their accounts just as the sheriffs to whom the bailiwicks of the shires were granted in England; and the breves by which the king administered the law, whether in the kingdom or the duchy, are most evidently germane to each other. In all these circumstances I can find the most evident and cogent proof that a great revolution was effected, not by William, but by Henry Plantagenet."

His view
accounted
for.

This is not an isolated passage, but a specimen of a theory into which its illustrious author was drawn by under-estimating the actual changes introduced at the conquest, and the formal character of the portions of the old system which were retained. It was necessary to account for the phenomena of the later age by supposing a period of rapid change, and for that later date, the power and genius of Henry II. seemed to account. But the arguments of the passage here quoted amount to very little, and for the most part the indications apply equally to the reign of Henry I. In his reign the laws of England had become so impregnated with feudalism, that the element could not be eliminated even in the attempt to recall and codify the laws of the older race. We cannot say that they had become Norman, because there are so few vestiges of Norman customs with which they can be compared, and because the probability is great that the kings, having developed a system of law or custom in their insular dominions, rather assimilated the Norman practice to the English than the reverse. The exchequer was governed on exactly the same principles in Henry I.'s reign, as in Henry II.'s; and the Norman exchequer and the English were under Henry I. administered on the same plan and by members of the same family. The actual forms of judicial procedure

His argu-
ments apply
equally to
the reign of
Henry I.

which were established under Henry II. are distinctly traceable under his grandfather, and although the legal reforms of Henry II. run into details and have peculiarities which distinguish them, and even give them a true claim to the title of original conceptions, they do, at least the most important of them, distinctly retain as strong features of Anglo-Saxon as of Norman parentage. And this Sir Francis Palgrave has himself shown even whilst he ascribes to the heir of the Anglo-Saxon kings the final abolition of the Anglo-Saxon legislation. There cannot be in the mere application to novel disseisin and mortdauncester, of the mode of procedure which had been long in use for other matters; nor in Henry's extending to his English subjects forms of process which had been the privilege of his Norman ones, grounds for so sweeping a charge.

Henry II.'s reforms not revolutionary.

Henry's genius as a legislator is exemplified rather in the application and combination of principles, than in the origination of them. That his reign witnessed the amalgamation of the free of both nation, is an evident fact. That it was the period of the more complete depression of the unfree is a theory that depends chiefly on our ignorance of their status, not only in the preceding, but in the following reigns.

Character of his legislation not originaive.

Question of slavery in England most obscure.

A priori a period of despotic oppression, a reign of terror, like that of Rufus, thirty years of rigorous systematic discipline like that of Henry I., or twenty years of anarchy such as had existed under Stephen, might seem a much more likely occasion for such a revolution as that of which Sir Francis Palgrave writes. But for the revolution itself proof is wanting, and even if the phenomena which are ascribed to its effects are granted to have such an origin, it seems strange justice to fix for the period of its occurrence a reign in which every recorded measure tended to peace and to the perfect equality of the two nationalities. As for serfdom, far too little is known to enable us to say

Obscurity of the origin of villenage. what was the actual condition of the lowest class of the people before our formal records begin. We cannot practically distinguish between the freedom of a ceorl under the Confessor and the slavery of the *nativus* under Henry II. : the former was in certain senses bound ; in certain senses the latter was free. We are not sure of the distinction between the *villein regardant* and the *villein in gross* : we know that the mediæval serf was never so low in condition as the Anglo-Saxon *theow*. It may with some show of proof be denied that personal slavery, or any slavery apart from land services, ever existed in England after the Conquest. As soon as the *villein* class really emerges in history, it is as a class whose very disabilities imply corresponding privileges.

No sufficient reason for charging it on Henry II. But whatever were the disabilities, and whatever were the privileges, the fact of their legal position first appearing in the work of Glanvill, is a very insufficient argument for ascribing the depression of the class to the measures of Henry II.

What did Henry really abolish ? If the constitution of England had become so feudalized before the Conquest that William had in the first instance little else to do than to take the place of Edward, what is meant by saying that Henry II. created a revolution by abolishing Anglo-Saxon legislation ? What was it that he set aside ? The system of Alfred or that of Edward ? If that of Alfred, then the theory of the feudalism of Edward falls to the ground ; if that of Edward, then was it really his feudalism or his remnant of the old polity that was now abolished ? Sir Francis Palgrave might mean the latter ; I should be inclined to say the former. But whatever Henry abolished he put in the place of it a system compounded of the wisest parts of both laws ; he developed and applied the principles on which the Conqueror might have acted had the revolt of 1067 and 1068 never taken place.

The feudal influence in government. The length of Henry's reign, the comparative peace which the country enjoyed during it ; the uniform di-

rection of his measures, the actual consensus of his counsellors, the ready acceptance of his reforms, all combine to give it a character of consolidation, and of power which, however highly we may be inclined to estimate it, we shall overrate, if we ascribe to it features which it did not possess. It has every mark of a period of progress, of organic growth, of steady development. It has none of a period of revolution. It was destructive of Norman usurpation, constructive of English freedom. Historically, it raised the people by annihilating their oppressors; made their interests for the time one with the interests of the crown; gave to the fabric of society a stability, and to the constituent elements of society a distinctness of character and definiteness, which enabled them to recognize their relations to each other; and when the time came for further change, to distinguish friend from foe, to combine without confusion. The nobility that Henry humbled was that of Normandy; the nobility that he founded was that of England; nor is it a mere ingenious calculation, but a proof of the real tendency of his government, that whilst of the allies of the Conqueror, every one, either by himself or by his heirs, had incurred forfeiture before the end of the reign of Henry I.; of the signatories of the great charter nearly every one owed his position in the country to the fact that he or his fathers had been among the servants of Henry II.

Consolidation the great feature of the reign;

not revolution.

Construction, not destruction.

Combination without confusion.

Creation of a new nobility.

¹ If Henry's character as a constitutional sovereign is Conclusion

¹ The text of the agreement by which the barons bound Stephen to rule, and also bound Henry before assenting to his arrangement with Stephen, does not seem to exist. The treaty between Stephen and Henry makes no mention of the compact, and is simply a contract for the succession. (Fœd. i. 18.) The compact is described by Robert de Monte (Bouquet, xiii. 296) thus:

“ Quod dux post mortem regis, si
“ ipse eum superviveret, pacifice
“ et absque contradictione regnum
“ haberet; juratum est etiam quod
“ possessiones quas directas erant
“ ab invasoribus ad antiquos et
“ legitimos possessores revocarentur
“ quorum fuerant tempore Henrici
“ optimi regis. De castellis etiam
“ quas post mortem prædicti regis
“ facta fuerant, ut everterentur quo-

Henry observed the terms on which he was raised to the throne.

Beneficial results of his policy.

to be estimated by his observance of the compact under which he came to the throne, the considerations into which I have gone in the foregoing preface ought to enable us to define it pretty clearly. He was faithful to the letter of his engagements. He recovered the demesne rights of the crown, so that his royal dignity did not depend for maintenance on constant taxation. He restored the usurped estates; he destroyed the illegal castles, and the system which they typified; he maintained the royal hold on the lawful ones, and the equality and uniformity of justice, which their usurpers had subverted: he restored internal peace, and with it plenty, as the riches of England in the following reign amply testify. He arranged the administration of justice by enacting good laws and appointing faithful judges. He

"rum multitudo ad COCLXXV. summam excreverat." Ralph de Diceto (527) has the following:
 "Regalia passim a proceribus usurpata recipiet: munitiones suis (Stephani) fundate temporibus diruentur, quarum numerus usque ad undecies centum quindecim excrevit . . . Prædiis assignabit colonos, insularios sedificia, nemoribus saltuarios, foris ditabit indaginea, ovibus decorabit montana, pascuis replebit armentia. Clerus nunc demum dominabitur, pacis tranquillitatem indicet, muneribus sordidis non gravabitur, ab extraordinariis vacationem habebit. Defensivæ locorum seu vicecomites locis statuentur statuta, non in votum exercendæ cupiditatis abibant; non quæquam ex odio persequuntur; non gratificabuntur amicis; non indulgentiis crimina sublevent, suum cuique reservabunt ex integro: metu penarum nonnullos

"afficient; præmiorum exhortatione plurimos excitabunt. Fures terrebuntur in furca, prædones sententia capitali plectentur. Milites caligati gladios suos in usum vomeris ligoniaque convertent. A castris ad aratra, a tentoriis ad ergasteria. Flandrensium plurimi revocabuntur, et quas nostratibus operas indixerunt dominis suis ex necessitate persolvent. Quid multis? Ab excubiis fatigati a communi lætitia respirabunt. Innocens et quieta rusticitas otio relevabitur. Negotiatores commerciorum vicissitudo locupletabit. Forma publica percussa eadem in regno celebris erit ubique moneta." In this passage the legal compact takes the form of a prophecy or joyful anticipation. Matthew Paris (p. 86), places the treaty at Wallingford, but there is much obscurity as to both the time and place.

restored the currency; he encouraged commerce, he maintained the privileges of the towns; and, without encouraging an aggressive spirit, armed his people for self-defence. He sustained the form, and somewhat of the spirit of national representation. The clergy had grounds of complaint against him for very important reasons; but their chief complaints were caused by their preference of the immunities of their class to the common safeguard of justice. Henry's personal character, his ultimate aims, his principles of policy, the very means which he used to carry out these desirable ends, are matters of a different kind, to be judged on other principles, and to be acquitted or condemned by a more competent tribunal than distant posterity.

APPENDICES TO PREFACE.

APPENDIX I.

OUTLINE ITINERARY OF HENRY II.

[The following attempt at an Itinerary of Henry II. will be found useful in illustration of the foregoing preface and the general history of the reign; and it will afford a clue to the most important parallel passages in other chronicles of the period. The comparative paucity of detail is accounted for by the fact that Henry did not date his charters by the month or year, so that one very fertile source of information is cut off. The references to Robert de Monte are to the edition by Pistorius, ed. Struve; where not especially made to Bouquet.]

A.D. 1154.

Oct. 25. Stephen dies. Gervase, 1375.

Nov. — to Dec. 6. BARFLEUR: "ibidem per unum mensem ventum expectavit." R. de Diceto, 529.

Dec. 8. "Apud Hostreham applicuit." Gerv. 1376.

Dec. —. "Wintoniam pervenit." Gerv. 1376.

Dec. —. "Lundoniam petiit." Gerv. 1376.

Dec. 19. Coronation. WESTMINSTER. Gerv. 1376. R. de Monte, 885.

Dec. 25. BERMONDSEY. "Tenuit rex curiam suam, cum principibus suis de statu regni et pace reformatam tractans." Gerv. 1377.

A.D. 1155.

Jan. —. YORK. "Eboracum et occidentales Angliæ partes visitavit." Gerv. 1377.

SCARBOROUGH. W. Newburgh.

Feb. —. NOTTINGHAM. "Ab Eboraco digrediente in provinciam de Notingham." Gerv. 1377.

Feb. 28. Henry, son of Henry and Eleanor, born at LONDON.

Mar. —. LONDON. Chron. Battle, 72. "Tenuit generale concilium et renovavit pacem et leges et consuetudines per Angliam ab antiquis temporibus constitutos." "Convocatis universis fere regni primoribus." Gerv. 1377.

CXXX OUTLINE ITINERARY OF HENRY II.

A.D. 1155.

Mar. 13. Submission of Roger of Hereford. Gerv. 1378.

Mar. 27. Easter.

April 10. WALLINGFORD. "Conventus generalis." Gerv. 1378.
R. de Monte, 886.

Mar. 27 to May 15. "In tempore Paschali." Chr. Battle, 75.
Revolt of Hugh de Mortimer.

CLEOBURY.

WIGMORE.

July 7. BRIDGENORTH. R. de Monte, 886.

July 8. BRIDGENORTH. "Mandans per Angliam universam
" archiepiscopos, episcopos, et abbatum plurimos,
" comites et barones universos quarto die præce-
" dente festum Sancti Benedicti æstivi temporis
" ibidem convenire." Chr. Bell. 75. Submission
of Hugh de Mortimer. R. de Monte, p. 886.

July 10, 11. BRIDGENORTH. Chr. Battle, 75.

Sept. 29. WINCHESTER. "Habito concilio de conquirendo regno
" Hiberniæ et Willelmo fratri suo dando, cum
" optimatibus suis tractavit." R. de Monte, 887.

Dec. 25. WESTMINSTER. "Concilium suum apud Westmonas-
" terium." Chr. Bell. 76.

A.D. 1156.

Jan. 10. DOVER to WITSAND. R. de Monte, 887; Ann. Camb. 46.

Feb. 2. ROUEN. R. de Monte, 887.

Feb. 5. "In sequenti Dominica locutus cum rege Franciæ
" Ludovico in confinio Normanniæ et Franciæ."
R. de Monte 887. Bouquet, xiii. 296.

Feb. —. "Inde rediens Rothomagum." R. de Monte, 887.
"In Andegavensem pagum." R. de Monte, 887.
"Cepit castrum Mirebellum et Chinonem longa
" obsidione." R. de Monte, 888.

July —. Loudun surrendered; submission of Geoffrey of
Nantes. R. de Monte, 888.

Nov. 11. SAUMUR. Chron. Battle, 76, 77.

A.D. 1157.

MORTAIN. Chartulary of Mount S. Michel. (D'Anisy,
MS. i. 277, 280.)

Mar. 31. Easter.

April 7. "Post octavas Paschæ, apud Barbeffluvium transivit
" in Angliam." R. de Monte, 889.

SOUTHAMPTON. Chron. Battle, 84.

LONDON. Chr. Battle, 84.

ONGAR. Chr. Battle, 8

A.D. 1157.

- May 19. S. EDMUND'S. "Ubi tunc corona sua regia insigniri
"debebat." Chr. Battle, 84. "Pro portandis
"coronis regis ad S. Ædmondum, xxii. s." Pipe
"Roll, 3 Hen. II. p. 107. "Diademate insignitus
"regali, multis ibidem convenientibus, archie-
"piscopo scilicet Cantuariæ, episcopis, abba-
"tibus, comitibus, baronibus et populi multitu-
"dine." Chr. Battle, 85. Cf. Alberic of Trois
Fontaines, ad 1155, ed. Leibnitz, p. 325.
- May 23. COLCHESTER. Chr. Battle, 85.
- May 24. COLCHESTER. Chr. Battle, 85.
- May 25. to May 28. COLCHESTER. Chr. Battle, 104.
- June 24. Preparation for expedition to Wales. R. de Monte, 889.
- July 17. NORTHAMPTON. Concilium. Gerv. 1380, 1378. Cf.
Radevic, I. vii. ap. Urstis.
Expedition to WALES. Brut, &c. 185.
CHESTER (Hoveden, 281). Ann. Camb. 46.
BASINGWICK. R. de Monte, 890. Ann. Camb. 46.
COLESHULLE. Gir. Camb. Itin. Camb. ii. 10.
CENNADLOG; Brut, &c., 187. Battle.
RHUDDLAN. Brut, &c. 187. Ann. Camb. 47.
TAMWORTH (Pipe Roll, 87).
- Sept. 8. Richard born at Oxford.
- Sept. to Dec. In Nottinghamshire and the Peak (Pipe Roll,
90 and 152) with the king of Scotland.
- Dec. 25. LINCOLN. Coronation. "In corredio regis ad Na-
"tale." Pipe Roll, Linc. p. 136. Newburgh, ii. 9.
Hoveden, 281.

A.D. 1158.

- Apr. 20. Easter. WORCESTER. Coronation. Hoveden, 281.
"In conducendis coronis regis ad Wirecestre de
"Wintonia, xiiii. s. viii. d." Pipe Rolls, p. 175.
- June 24. CARLISLE. R. de Monte, 890. Hoveden, 281. Pipe
Rolls, pp. 119, 175.
GLOUCESTER (Pipe Roll, 168).
CLARENDON (113).
WOODSTOCK (113, 115).
PORTSMOUTH (115).
- Aug. 14. "Transfretavit in Normanniam." R. de Monte.
Cf. Bouquet, xiii. 300.
- Aug. 22. Interview with Lewis VII. on the Epte, between
Gisors and Neufmarché. R. de Monte, 891. Bou-
quet, xiii. 300.

ARGENTAN.

CCXXII OUTLINE ITINERARY OF HENRY II

A.D. 1158.

- Sept. 8. **ARGENTAN.** R. de Monte, 891.
PARIS. R. de Monte (Bouquet, xiii. 300).
MAINTEN. R. de Monte (Bouquet, xiii. 300).
BRETIANY.
- Sept. 23. **Geoffrey, son of Henry and Eleanor, born in England.**
- Sept. 29. **AVRANCHES.** R. de Monte, 891.
MONT S. MICHEL.
S. JACQUES, Chart. Mt. S. Michel. (D'Anisy, MS. i. 286).
PORT ORSON. R. de Monte, 891.
NANTES, R. de Monte, 891.
- Oct. 7-10? **THOUARS.** R. de Monte, 891.
LE MANS. Gerv. 1380.
NORMANDY.
PACY.
EVREUX.
NEUFBOURG.
BEC. } R. de Monte, 891.
- Nov. 23. **MONT S. MICHEL.** R. de Monte, 891. Gerv. 1380.
AVRANCHES. R. de Monte, 891.
BAYEUX. Gerv. 1380.
CAEN. Gerv. 1380.
ROUEN. Gerv. 1380.
- Dec. Peace with Champagne. R. de Monte, 892.
- Dec. 25. **CHENOUË.** R. de Monte, 892.

A.D. 1159.

- Jan. —. **BLAYE.** League with Raymond of Barcelona.
- Lent. (Begins Feb. 25.) **POUILLIEUX.** Bouquet, xiii. 302.
- Mar. 22. Preparations for expedition to Toulouse. R. de Monte, 892.
- April 12. **Easter.**
- May 21-23. **BEC.** R. de Monte. Bouquet, xiii. 302. Three days.
- May 24. **ROUEN.** R. de Monte. Bouquet, xiii. 302.
- June 6-8. **HILLIERCOURT.** R. de Monte. Bouquet, xiii. 302.
- June 24. **POUILLIEUX.** R. de Monte. Bouquet, xiii. 302.
- July 6. **Near TOULOUSE.** Conference with Lewis VII.
War of Toulouse. R. de Monte. Bouquet, xiii. 302.
- Sept. —. **AUVILLAR.** Palgrave, Commonwealth, II. xv.
- Cir. Sept. 29. Sets out on return.
- Oct. —. **CANON.**
NORMANDY.
BEAUVORE.
GREZBOUX. } R. de Monte, 894.

OUTLINE ITINERARY OF HENRY II. cxxxiii

A.D. 1159.

ESTREPAGNI. Of. Charter of Preaux, in the Normandy Transcripts, No. 137, Rolls House MS.
R. de Monte. Bouquet, xiii. 302.

Dec. —. Truce with France. R. de Monte, 894.

Dec. 25. FALAISE. R. de Monte, 894. Bouquet, xiii. 304.

A.D. 1160.

Jan. —. FALAISE.

May —. Peace with France. R. de Monte, 895.

July —. NEUFMARCHÉ. Ecclesiastical council. R. de Monte, 895. W. FitzStephen, S. T. O. i. 194.

Oct. —. Conference with Lewis VII. R. de Monte, 895.

Nov. 2. NEUFBOURG. Marriage of Henry and Margaret. R. de Diceto, 532.

GISORS.

NEAUFLE.

NEUFCHÂTEL.

AMBOISE.

CHAUMONT.

FRETEVAL.

} R. de Monte, 896. R. de Diceto, 532.

Dec. 25. LE MANS. R. de Monte, 896.

A.D. 1161.

Jan. —. LE MANS.

March 1. LE MANS. R. de Monte, 896.

April 16. Easter. War.

War in the Vexin. R. de Monte, 896.

War in the Dunois. R. de Monte, 896.

July —. In Guienne. R. de Monte, 896.

Aug. 10. CHATILLON on the Dordogne. R. de Monte, 896.

Peace at FRETEVAL. R. de Diceto, 533.

Dec. 25. BAYEUX. R. de Monte, 897.

A.D. 1162.

Jan. —. BAYEUX.

Feb. 25. ROUEN. "Congregavit episcopos, abbates, barones
" totius Normannie—querimoniam faciens de epi-
" scopis et eorum ministris et vicecomitibus suis,
" et jussit ut concilium Julisebonæ teneretur."
R. de Monte, 897.

FECAMP. R. de Monte, 897.

Sept. —. TOUZI. Meeting with the Pope. R. de Monte, 898.

Sept. 18. DEOLS (?). (Jaffé, 687).

Dec. —. BARFLEUR. R. de Monte, 898.

Dec. 25. CHERBOURG. R. de Monte, 898.

CXXXIV OUTLINE ITINERARY OF HENRY II.

A.D. 1163.

Jan. 25. CHERBOURG to SOUTHAMPTON. R. de Diceto, 534.
Herbert of Bosham, i. 87.

March 3. LONDON. Council. Palgrave, Commonwealth, II. xxii.

March 6. LONDON.

March 8. WESTMINSTER. R. de Diceto, 533.

Mar. 17. CANTERBURY. Gervase, 1384.

Mar. 24. WINDSOR.

Mar. 31. WINDSOR. Richard de Anesty, xxiii. (Palgrave.)
Court for the trial of Henry of Essex.

READING. R. Anesty, xxiii.

WALLINGFORD. R. Anesty, xxiii.

WALES. Ann. Margam, 15. "Usque ad PENCHAIDERN."

Ann. Cambr. 49. "Per maritima de Guladmorgan

" et Gouher viam versus Oaermarthin et usque

" Pencadair intrando, et per Elenith et Melenith

" revertendo." Gir. Camb. It. Camb. ii. 10.

July 1. WOODSTOCK. Council. Homage of Scotland and
Wales and question of Danegeld. R. de Diceto,
536. Grim. S. T. C. i. 21. Roger of Pontigny, i. 113.

Oct. 1. WESTMINSTER.¹ Council of bishops. Anon. Lambeth,
88. Summa Cause S.T.C. ii. 251. Gervase, 1384.

NORTHAMPTON. R. Pontigny, 117.

GLOUCESTER. R. Pontigny, 120,

WOODSTOCK. R. Pontigny, 122.

A.D. 1164.

Jan. 25-27. CLARENDON. Great council. R. de Diceto, 536.

PORCHESTER. Roger of Pontigny, i. 128.

WOODSTOCK. W. Fitz-Stephen, S. T. C. 218.

April 12. Easter.

April 19-21. READING. R. de Monte, 899. Herb. Bosham,
S. T. C. vii. 97.

WOODSTOCK. Herb. Bosham, i. 132. Ann. Ber-
mondsey.

Oct. 6-13. NORTHAMPTON. Great council. R. de Diceto,
537. "Omnes qui de rege tenerent in capite."
Grim. S. T. C. i. 39.

Dec. 25. MARLBOROUGH. S. T. C. i. 243; vi. 278.

¹ Henry and Thomas Becket were present at the translation of Edward the Confessor at Westminster either this year or the following. If it took place on the 13th of October, it must have been in 1163; but the dedication of that day may be re-

ferred with more certainty to the translation effected in the year 1269. The earlier translation took place in 1163, according to Matthew Paris, the Annals of Waverley, Winchester, &c.

OUTLINE ITINERARY OF HENRY II. CXXXV

A.D. 1165.

Lent (Feb. 17 to April 4). To NORMANDY. R. de Monte, 900.

Feb. 17. MORTENNER. Alberic of Trois Fontaines, 343.

April 11. Gisors. Conference with Lewis VII. R. de Monte, 900.

ROUEN. Conference with Philip of Flanders and Reginald of Cologne. R. de Monte, 900.

WESTMINSTER. R. de Diceto, 539.

Expedition to Wales. R. de Monte, 900. Gilb.

Foliot, i. 238. Gervase, 1398. Ann. Waverley,

239. RHUDDLAN. Brut, &c., 199. "Ad CRUCEM

OSWALT usque pervenit." Ann. Camb. 50. Gir.

Camb. It. Camb. ii. 10. Vale of CEIRIOG. Brut, &c.,

201. "In monte BERWEN." Ann. Camb. 50.

CHESTER. Brut, 203. "In Angliam reversus est."

Ann. Camb. 50.

A.D. 1166.

OXFORD. Council of bishops. R. de Diceto, 539.

Ann. Theokesb. 49.

CLARENDON. Council. (See above, pp. lix-lxi.

Lent *incip.* (March 3) to NORMANDY. R. de Diceto, 539. R. de Monte, 901.

April 24. Easter. ANGERS. Joh. Salisb. Epp. 144, 168. Conference with Lewis VII. R. de Monte, 901.

May 10. LE MANS. Gerv. 1399.

May 17. LE MANS. Gerv. 1399.

CHINON. Joh. Salisb. Ep. 145.

June 24. FOUGERES. S. T. C. iii. 196. R. de Monte, 901. R. de Diceto, 547. Joh. Salisb. Ep. 176.

July 13, 14. FOUGERES. Chartulary of Mont S. Michel (D'Anisy, MS. ii. 291, 292).

TROUARS. Homage of Brittany. R. de Monte, 901.

RENNES. R. de Monte, 901.

COMBORT. R. de Monte, 901.

DOL. R. de Monte, 901.

MONT S. MICHEL. R. de Monte, 901.

GENEST. R. de Monte, 901.

CAEN. S. T. C. iv. 260.

TOQUES. S. T. C. iv. 261.

ROUEN.

CAEN.

— Conference with Flanders. S. T. C. 261.

Nov. 18. TOURS. S. T. C. iv. 185, 262.¹ Conference with Theobald of Blois.

Nov. 19. CHINON. S. T. C. 262. Conference with the Poitevins.

Nov. 30. ROUEN. S. T. C. iv. 185.

CXXXVI OUTLINE ITINERARY OF HENRY II.

A.D. 1166.

Dec. 6. ROUEN. S. T. C. iv. 261. Conference with Matthew of Boulogne.¹

Dec. 25. POICTIERS. R. de Monte, 901.

A.D. 1167.

Lent (Feb. 22 to April 9). GRANDMONT. Conference with Count of S. Giles. R. de Monte, 901.

Easter. April 9. Expedition to Auvergne. R. de Monte, 901.

June 4. In the Vexin. R. de Monte, 902.

CHAUMONT. R. de Monte, 902.

Aug. —. Truce with France.

Sept. —. Expedition to Brittany. R. de Monte, 903.

Nov. 26. ARGENTAN. S. T. C. iv. 269. Conference with the cardinals.

Nov. 29. ARGENTAN. S. T. C. iv. 269. To Dec. 5.

Dec. 25. ARGENTAN. "Magna curia." R. de Monte, 903.

A.D. 1168.

Revolt in Poitou.

LUSIGNAN. R. de Monte, 904.

April 7. PACY. Conference with French nobles. R. de Monte, 904. Joh. Salisb. Ep. 244.

May 12. Conference with Louis VII. Joh. Salisb. Ep. 244.

Expedition to Brittany.

CASTELLUM JOCELENI.

PORHOET.

VANNES.

AURAI.

DINANT.

HEDDÉ.

TINTINIAC.

BECHEREL.

LEON.

DINANT.

ALBYTH.

} R. de Monte, 904.

¹ These dates, which occur in two letters, in S. T. C. Epp. 344 and 378, the former written between Nov. 18 and Nov. 30, are fixed to the year 1166 by these facts: (1.) The empress Maud is spoken of as still alive: she died Sept. 10, 1167. (2.) The visit of the king of Scotland is mentioned; he arrived in the autumn of 1166. (3.) There is no reference to the mission of the legates, which took place about the same time in the next year. (4.)

The bishop of Hereford, who died Feb. 27, 1167, is spoken of as living. The news of the death of the bishop of Lincoln (Jan. 27, 1167), and of the earl of Essex (Oct. 21, 1167), mentioned in Ep. 344, must have been unauthenticated, unless those events are wrongly dated by the historians, or the letter itself has been interpolated. The dates are very important in reference to transactions with Flanders and Boulogne.

OUTLINE ITINERARY OF HENRY II. cxxxvii

A.D. 1168.

- July 1. LA FERTÉ BERNARD. Conference with Lewis VII.
R. de Monte, 904. Joh. Salisb. Ep. 246.
In the VIMINU, R. de Monte, 905.
BRUNBOLES. R. de Monte, 905.
NEUPCHÂTEL. R. de Monte, 905.
PERCHE. R. de Monte, 905.
- Dec. 25. ARGENTAN. R. de Monte, 905.

A.D. 1169.

- Jan. —. ARGENTAN.
- Jan. 6. MONTMIRAIL. Conference with Lewis VII. R. de Monte, 905. Gervase, 1404.
S. GERMAIN EN LAYE. R. de Monte, 906.
- Lent (March 5 to April 20).
Expedition to Gascony.
S. MACHAIRE. Ep. Foliot, 491. Mon. Angl. vi. 818.
- Aug. —. Returns to Normandy. R. de Monte, 906.
- Aug. 15. ARGENTAN. S. T. C. iv. 277.
- Aug. 23. DOMFRONT. S. T. C. iv. 277.
- Aug. 24. DOMFRONT. S. T. C. iv. 278.
- Aug. 31. BAYEUX. S. T. C. iv. 278. Diceto, 550.
- Sept. 1. BUR. S. T. C. iv. 279.
ROUEN. S. T. C. iv. 220.
- Nov. 18. MONTMARTRE. Gerv. 1408. S. T. C. iv. 216. Diceto, 550.
- Dec. 25. NANTES. B. P. 3.

A.D. 1170.

- Jan. —. NANTES.
- Feb. 2. SEEZ. B. P. i. 3.
- March 3. To PORTSMOUTH. B. P. i. 3. Gervase, 1410.
- April 5. Easter. WINDSOR. Curia. "Fere omnes nobiliores
" et majores Anglia." B. P. i. 4.
LONDON. Council. "Magnum concilium—de statutis
" regni." B. P. i. 4. "Convocatis optimatibus
" suis." Gervase, 1410.
Instructions given for inquest of sheriffs.
- May 31. David of Scotland knighted. Chr. Melrose.
- June 14. WESTMINSTER. Coronation of Henry, junior. Gerv.
1412. B. P. i. 5. "Omnes comites et barones et
" francos tenentes."
- June 24. PORTSMOUTH to BARFLEUR. B. P. i. 6.
FALAISE. W. FitzStephen, S.T.C. i. 269.
- July 6. LA FERTÉ BERNARD. B. P. i. 6.
VENDOME. B. P. i. 6.
- July 20-22. FRETEVAL. S. T. C. iv. 304; i. 272.
- Aug. 10. MOTE DE GER, near DOMFRONT. B. P. i. 6. R. de Monte, 908.

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A.D. 1170.

- Sept. 29. **ROQUEMADOUR.** B. P. i. 7. R. de Monte, 908.
TOURS. Herb. Bosham, S. T. O. vii. 307. Fitz-
Stephen, i. 278.
Oct. 12, 13. **AMBOISE.** W. FitzStephen, S. T. C. i. 278. B. P.
i. 8.
CHAUMONT. Herb. Bos. 308.
CHINON. Ep. Gilb. Foliot, ccccxvii.
LOCHES. Ep. Gilb. Foliot, ccccxviii.
Nov. 23. **MONT LUÇON in BERRY.** B. P. i. 10.
Dec. 25. **BUR.** B. P. i. 11. R. de Monte, 909.

A.D. 1171.

- Jan. —. **BUR.** B. P. i. 11. R. de Monte, 909.
Jan. —. **ARGENTAN.** B. P. i. 14. S. T. O. 203 (for 40 days).
Herb. Bos. S. T. C. viii. 34.
Cir. Feb. 10 (Lent, Feb. 10 to March 28). **PONTORSON** (15
days). R. de Monte, 900.
Mar. 28. **Easter.**
May 2. **Rogations.** **PONTORSON.** R. de Monte, 909.
May 16. **Pentecost.** **PONTORSON.** R. de Monte, 909.
July —. **ARGENTAN.** Council of Barons. R. de Monte, 910.
Aug. 3. **Lands at Portsmouth.** B. P. i. 24. R. de Monte, 910.
Sept. 8. **LEWIS DANET (?)**. Brut, 211.
Sept. 14–20. **PEMBROKE.** B. P. i. 25. Brut, 213.
Sept. 26–29. **S. DAVID'S.** Brut, 213.
Sept. 29. **PEMBROKE.** Brut, 213.
Oct. 16. **MILFORD.** B. P. i. 25. Hoveden, 301.
Oct. 17. **CROCH, near WATERFORD.** B. P. i. 25.
Oct. 18. **WATERFORD.** B. P. i. 25. (15 days.) Hoveden, 301.
Nov. 6. **B. P. i. 28.**
Nov. 11. **DUBLIN (to March 1).** Hoveden, 301,
Dec. 25. **DUBLIN.** B. P. i. 29.

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- Jan. —. **DUBLIN.**
Jan. 1 to March 1. **DUBLIN.** Hoveden, 301.
March 1. **WEXFORD (to April 16).** B. P. i. 29.
Apr. 16. **Easter.**
Apr. 17. **WATERFORD to S. DAVID'S.** B. P. i. 30. Hoveden.
Gir. Camb. De Exp. Hib. i. 37. Ann. Camb. 54.
HAVERFORDWEST. Gir. Camb. Exp. Hib. i. 37.
Apr. 22. **CARDIFF.** Gir. Camb. Exp. Hib. i. 39.
Apr. 23. **CARDIFF to NEWPORT.** Gir. Camb. i. 39. Brut, 219.
May —. **PORTSMOUTH to BARTLEUR.** B. P. i. 30.
May 16. **GORRAM.** S. T. C. i. 372.
May 17. **SAVIGNY.** Ib. 372.

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A.D. 1172.

- May 21. AVRANCHES. Ep. Foliot, S. T. O. vi. 123.
CAEN. B. P. i. 31. R. de Monte, 911.
BRITTANY. B. P. i. 31.
- Sept. 21. NORMANDY. B. P. i. 31.
- Sept. 27. AVRANCHES. B. P. i. 32.
- Sept. 28. AVRANCHES. R. de Monte, 911. Ecclesiastical council. B. P. i. 33.
- Dec. —. NORMANDY to ANJOU. B. P. i. 35.
- Dec. 25. CHINON. R. de Monte, 911. B. P. i. 35.

A.D. 1173.

- Jan. —. CHINON.
 - Jan. —. Expedition to Auvergne.
 - Feb. 2. MONTFERRAND. B. P. i. 35. R. de Monte, 911.
 - Feb. 25. LIMOGES. B. P. i. 36-41. Geoff. Vigois, p. 319.
 - Feb. 28 or March 2. Council of Limoges breaks up after seven days' sitting. G. V. (Labbé, Bibl. MSS. vol. ii.), 319.
 - March 7. CHINON. B. P. i. 41.
 - March 8. ALENÇON. B. P. i. 42.
GISORS. B. P. i. 42.
 - April 4. S. BARBE in the Lieuvin. R. de Monte, 912.
 - April 8. Easter. ALENÇON. B. P. i. 45.
 - Aug. 7. CONCHES. B. P. i. 51.
 - Aug. 8. BRETEUIL. B. P. 51. R. de Monte, 915.
 - Aug. 9. CONCHES to VERNEUIL. B. P. i. 55.
 - Aug. 10. DAMVILLE. B. P. i. 56.
ROUEN. B. P. i. 56.
FOUGÈRES. R. de Monte, 913.
 - Aug. 21. ROUEN to DOL. B. P. i. 57.
 - Aug. 23. DOL. B. P. i. 57.
 - Aug. 26. DOL. B. P. i. 57.
 - Sept. 8 to Sept. 14. LE MANS. Curia. B. P. i. 59.
 - Sept. 25. GISORS. B. P. i. 60.
 - Sept. 26. GISORS. B. P. i. 60.
 - Nov. —. ANJOU.
 - Nov. 18. HATE. B. P. i. 62.
PRULLI, B. P. i. 62.
CAMPENNI, B. P. i. 62.
 - Nov. 30. VENDOME. B. P. i. 62.
NORMANDY. B. P. i. 63.
 - Dec. 25. CAEN. B. P. i. 63. BUR. R. de Monte, 914.
- A.D. 1174.
- Truce with France, Jan. 13 to March 31.
 - Apr. 30. LE MANS. R. de Diceto, 575.
 - May. 12. POICTIERS. R. de Diceto, 575.
SAINTES. R. de Diceto 575. B. P. i. 71.

A.D. 1174.

- Returns into ANJOU. B. P. i. 71.
 June 11. ANCHEN. R. de Diceto, 575. B. P. i. 71.
 Returns to NORMANDY. B. P. i. 72.
 June 24. BONNEVILLE. R. de Diceto, 576.
 July 8. BARFLEUR to SOUTHAMPTON. B. P. i. 72.
 July 9. To CANTERBURY. B. P. i. 72.
 July 12. Arrives at CANTERBURY. R. de Dic. 577.
 July 12. CANTERBURY to LONDON. B. P. i. 72.
 July 18. LONDON to HUNTINGDON. B. P. i. 72.
 July 19. Arrives at HUNTINGDON. R. de Dic. 577.
 July 21. HUNTINGDON. B. P. i. 72.
 July 24. SELLEHAM. B. P. i. 73.
 July 25. SELLEHAM. B. P. i. 73.
 July 31. NORTHAMPTON. B. P. i. 73.
 Aug. 7. PORTSMOUTH. B. P. i. 74. PORCHESTER. R. de Diceto, 578.
 Aug. 8. BARFLEUR. B. P. i. 74.
 Aug. 10. ROUEN. R. de Diceto, 578.
 Aug. 11. ROUEN. B. P. i. 74.
 Aug. 12. ROUEN. B. P. i. 75.
 Aug. 13. ROUEN. B. P. i. 75.
 Aug. 14. ROUEN. B. P. i. 75.
 Aug. 15. ROUEN. B. P. i. 76.
 Sept. 8. GENÈVE. B. P. i. 76.
 Into POCTOU. B. P. i. 76.
 Sept. 23. PORTIERA. B. P. i. 76.
 Sept. 29. Between TOURS and AMBOISE, MOST LOUIS. B. P. 77. R. de Monte, 916.
 Sept. 30. MOST LOUIS. B. P. i. 77.
 Oct. 11. Between TOURS and AMBOISE. R. de Diceto, 582.
 Dec. 8. VALOISIE. Treaty with William the Lion. R. de Diceto, 584.
 Dec. 25. ARGENTAN. B. P. i. 81. R. de Monte, 916.

A.D. 1175.

- JAN. —. ARGENTAN.
 Expedition into ANJOU. B. P. i. 82.
 Feb. 2. LE MANS. B. P. i. 81. R. de Diceto, 585.
 Feb. 24. GENÈVE. Conference with Lewis VII. B. P. i. 81.
 Feb. 26. ROUEN. B. P. i. 82.
 Into ANJOU.
 Mar. 23. Returns to NORMANDY. B. P. i. 82.
 CAEN. B. P. i. 82.
 April 1. BUR. R. de Diceto, 585, 586.
 VALOISIE (several days). B. P. i. 83.
 Apr. 12. CHERRBOURG. B. P. i. 83.

A.D. 1175.

- Apr. 13. **Easter. CHERBOURG.** B. P. i. 83.
 Apr. 22. **CANN.** B. P. i. 83.
 May 8. **BARFLEUR.** R. de Diceto, 585.
 May 9. **PORTSMOUTH.** B. P. i. 83.
 May 18. **LONDON.** B. P. i. 84. Ecclesiastical council.
 May 28. **CANTERBURY.** R. de Dic. 585. B. P. i. 91.
 June 1. **READING.** Curia. B. P. i. 91.
 June 29. **GLOUCESTER.** "Magnum concilium." B. P. i. 92.
 July 1. **WOODSTOCK.** "Ecclesiastical council." B. P. i. 93.
 July 8. **WOODSTOCK.** R. de Diceto, 587.
 July 9. **WOODSTOCK.** R. de Diceto, 587.
 LICHFIELD. B. P. i. 94.
 Aug. 1. **NOTTINGHAM.** B. P. i. 94.
 Aug. 2, &c. **NOTTINGHAM.** B. P. i. 94. Placitum.
 Aug. 10. **YORK.** B. P. i. 94.
 Returns to **LONDON.** B. P. i. 99.
 Sept. —. **WINDSOR.** B. P. i. 101.
 Oct. 6. **WINDSOR.** Concilium. B. P. i. 103. "Congregatis
 " . . . archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et episcopis
 Angliæ et comitibus et baronibus terræ suæ."
 B. P. i. 101.
 Oct. 31. **WINCHESTER.** B. P. i. 104. R. de Diceto, 587.
 Returns to **WINDSOR.** B. P. i. 106.
 Nov. 26. **EYNHAM.** R. de Diceto, 588.
 Dec. 25. **WINDSOR.** B. P. i. 106.

A.D. 1176.

- Jan. —. **WINDSOR.**
 Jan. 25. **NORTHAMPTON.** "Magnum concilium de statutis
 " regni." B. P. i. 107, "Coram episcopis, comi-
 " tibus, baronibus, militibus et aliis hominibus
 " suis." R. de Diceto, 588.
 Jan. 26. **NORTHAMPTON.** R. de Diceto, 588.
 Mar. 14. **WESTMINSTER.** (Ecclesiastical council). B. P. i. 112.
 R. de Dic. 589. Gerv. 1433.
 WINCHESTER.
 April 4. **Easter. WINCHESTER.** B. P. i. 115.
 May 25. **LONDON.** Council. R. de Dic. 590. B. P. i. 116.
 Aug. 15. **WINCHESTER.** Council. B. P. i. 118.
 Sept. 21. **WINCHESTER.** R. de Diceto, 594.
 Sept. 28. **WINDSOR.** R. de Diceto, 594.
 Sept. 29. **WINDSOR.** Council. B. P. i. 124.
 Oct. 9. **FECKENHAM.** B. P. i. 126.
 Oct. 17. **CIRENCESTER.** B. P. i. 127.
 Nov. 12. **WESTMINSTER.** Curia. R. de Dic. 595.

A.D. 1176.

Dec. 24. NOTTINGHAM. R. de Dic. 596.

Dec. 25. NOTTINGHAM. B. P. i. 130.

A.D. 1177.

Jan. —. NOTTINGHAM.

Jan. 13. To NORTHAMPTON. "Magnum concilium." B. P. i. 132.

Jan. 20. WINDSOR. B. P. i. 135.

Feb. 2. MARLBOROUGH. Curia. B. P. i. 138.

Feb. 22. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 138.

Mar. 9. WINDSOR. B. P. i. 139.

Mar. 13-16. LONDON. B. P. i. 144-157. Council.

MARLBOROUGH. B. P. i. 157.

April 17. READING. B. P. i. 158.

April 21. CANTERBURY. B. P. i. 158.

April 22. DOVER. B. P. i. 158.

April 23. WYE. B. P. i. 159.

April 24. WYE. B. P. i. 159.

LONDON. B. P. i. 159.

May 1. S. EDMUND'S. B. P. i. 159.

May 2. ELY. B. P. i. 159.

GIDDINGTON. B. P. i. 159.

May 8. WINDSOR. B. P. i. 160.

OXFORD. B. P. i. 162. Council.

May 22. AMESBURY. B. P. i. 165.

May 29. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 166.

June 3. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 168.

MARLBOROUGH. B. P. i. 172.

LONDON. B. P. i. 173.

June 11. WALTHAM. B. P. i. 173.

WALTHAM to LONDON. B. P. i. 175.

June 12. LONDON. Whitsuntide. B. P. i. 175.

WOODSTOCK. B. P. i. 175-177.

July 1. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 178. Council and levy.

July 9. STOKES, near Portsmouth. B. P. i. 180.

July 10. STANSTEDE. B. P. i. 180.

July 12. STANSTEDE. B. P. i. 180.

July 10-17. STANSTEDE. B. P. i. 182.

July 17. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 182.

July 17 to Aug. 15. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 190.

Aug. 17. PORTSMOUTH. B. P. i. 190. R. de Monte, 919.

Aug. 18. CAPLEVIC. B. P. i. 190.

Sept. 11. ROUEN. B. P. i. 190.

Sept. 21. NORMANCOURT. Gué S. Remy. B. P. i. 191. R. de Monte, 919.

Sept. 26. NORMANCOURT. R. de Dic. 599.

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- VERNEUIL. B. P. i. 194.
- ALENÇON. B. P. i. 195.
- Oct. 10. ARGENTAN. B. P. i. 195.
- CHÂTEAUBOUX. B. P. i. 195.
- LA CHÂTE. B. P. i. 195.
- LIMOUSIN. B. P. i. 196.
- After Nov. 11. GRASZAY. B. P. i. 196.
- Dec. —. GRANDMONT. B. P. i. 196.
- Dec. 25. — ANGERS. B. P. i. 198. R. de Monte, 921.

A.D. 1178.

- Jan. —. ANGERS.
- Mar. 19. BEC. R. de Monte, 921.
- April 9. Easter. ANGERS. B. P. i. 198.
- NOMANCOURT. R. de Monte, 922.
- July 15. DICHENMUTA. B. P. i. 207. R. de Monte, 922. R. de Diceto, 600.
- CANTERBURY. B. P. i. 207. R. de Diceto, 600.
- Aug. 6. WOODSTOCK. B. P. i. 207. R. de Diceto, 600.
- WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 220.
- Dec. 25. WINCHESTER. Curia. B. P. i. 221.

A.D. 1179.

- Jan. —. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 221.
- WINDSOR. B. P. i. 221.
- Mar. 11. Mid-Lent.
- April 1. Easter. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 238.
- WINDSOR. Council. B. P. i. 238.
- May 20. Pentecost. Curia. B. P. i. 240.
- Aug. 22. DOVER. B. P. i. 241. R. de Diceto, 604.
- Aug. 23. CANTERBURY. B. P. i. 241. Gervase, 1457.
- Aug. 26. DOVER. B. P. i. 242.
- Aug. 27. WESTMINSTER. R. de Diceto, 606.
- Dec. 25. NOTTINGHAM. Curia. B. P. i. 244. R. de Monte, 926.

A.D. 1180.

- Jan. —. NOTTINGHAM.
- After April 1. READING. R. de Diceto, 610.
- PORTSMOUTH. R. de Dic. 610.
- ALENÇON. Rot. Norm. i. 18.
- April 20. LE MANS. R. de Monte, 926. Rot. Norm. i. 18.
- June 28. Gisors. B. P. i. 246. R. de Diceto, 611. Rot. Norm. i. 77.
- ROUEN to CAEN. Rot. Norm. i. 77.
- DRENCOURT. Rot. Norm. i. 77.
- ANGERS. Rot. Norm. i. 18.

A.D. 1180.

- ARGENTAN. Rot. Norm. i. 18.
 VALOGNES. Rot. Norm. i. 18.
 CHERBOURG. Rot. Norm. i. 31.
 DIEPPE, i. 68.
 Oct. —. ARGENTAN. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
 BUR. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
 CAEN. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
 VALOGNES. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
 CHERBOURG. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
 TENERCHERBRIAL. Rot. Norm. i. 39, 52.
 DANFRONT. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
 MORTAIN. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
 GORRAM. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
 FALAISE. Rot. Norm. i. 50, 56.
 ANGERS. Rot. Norm. i. 50, 56.
 Dec. 25. LE MANS. B. P. i. 269.
 ANGERS. R. de Monte, 928.

A.D. 1181.

- Jan. —. VALASSE. R. de Monte, 928.
 Mar. 5. GRANDMONT. Geoff. Vigois, 326.
 Lent. CHINON. B. P. i. 272.
 April 5. GUÉ S. REMY. B. P. i. 272.
 April 27. GISORS. B. P. i. 277.
 July 27. CHERBOURG to PORTSMOUTH. B. P. i. 277.
 CANTERBURY. R. de Diceto, 612.
 NOTTINGHAM. B. P. i. 280.
 Sept. 6. EVESHAM. B. P. i. 280.
 WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 281.
 Dec. 25. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 284.

A.D. 1182.

- Jan. —. WINCHESTER.
 Jan. 6. MARLBOROUGH. R. de Dic. 613.
 Mar. —. BISHOPS WALTHAM. R. de Dic. 613. Gervase, 1459.
 Mar. 3. PORTSMOUTH. R. de Dic. 613. R. de Monte, 931.
 Mar. 4. BARFLEUR. B. P. i. 285.
 Mar. 28. Easter.
 After April 4. SENLIS. R. de Dic. 613.
 Into POICOU. B. P. i. 288.
 May 16. Whit-Sunday.
 GRANDMONT. Geoff. Vigois, 330.
 S. YRIEZ, in Limousin. G. V. 330.
 PIERRE BUFFIERE. G. V. 330.

A.D. 1182.

June 24. GRANDMONT. G. V. 330.

July 1. PERIGUEUX. G. V. 331.

Before July 8. LIMOGES. G. V. 331.

Into NORMANDY. B. P. i. 288.

Dec. 25. CAEN. B. P. i. 291. R. de Monte, 933.

A.D. 1183.

Jan. —. LE MANS. B. P. i. 292.

ANGERS. R. de Diceto, 617. B. P. i. 295.

After Feb. 2. LIMOGES. Geoff. Vigeeois, 332.

AIXE. Geoff. Vigeeois, 332.

Mar. 1. LIMOGES. Geoff. Vigeeois, 334.

April 17. Easter. LIMOGES. Geoff. Vigeeois, 336.

June 24. LIMOGES surrendered. Geoff. Vigeeois, 337.

July 3. ANGERS. R. de Monte, 933.

EVREUX. Rot. Norm. i. 121.

GISORS. Not. Norm. i. 116.

ROUEN. (Conference with Philip of Flanders.) Rot.

Norm. i. 116.

Dec. 6. Between GISORS and TRIE. B. P. i. 306.

Dec. 25. LE MANS. B. P. i. 310. CAEN, R. de Monte, 935.

A.D. 1184.

Jan. —. LE MANS.

NORMANDY. B. P. i. 310.

May —. CHOISI. Conference. B. P. i. 312.

June —. WITSAND. B. P. i. 312.

June 10. DOVER. B. P. i. 312. R. de Dic. 619.

WALTHAM. B. P. i. 317.

July 22. WORCESTER. B. P. i. 314.

Cir. July 25. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 316. Gerv. 1466.

GLOUCESTER. B. P. i. 317.

Aug. 5. READING. Council. B. P. i. 317. R. de Dic. 619.

Gerv. 1467.

Aug. 16. WOODSTOCK. Council. B. P. i. 318.

DOVER. B. P. i. 318.

CANTERBURY. Gerv. 1468.

LONDON. B. P. i. 318.

Oct. 21. WINDSOR. Gerv. 1468.

Oct. 23. WINDSOR. R. de Dic. 619.

Nov. 30. LONDON. B. P. i. 319. Gerv. 1470.

Dec. 2. WESTMINSTER. B. P. i. 320. R. de Dic. 619.

Dec. 3. WESTMINSTER. B. P. i. 320.

Dec. 10. WESTMINSTER. Gerv. 1472.

Dec. 14. CANTERBURY. B. P. i. 321. Gerv. 1473.

Dec. 15. LONDON. Gerv. 1473.

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Dec. 16. WESTMINSTER. B. P. i. 321. R. de Dic. 620.

Dec. 25. WINDSOR. B. P. i. 333.

GUILDFORD. B. P. i. 334.

A.D. 1185.

Jan. 1. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 334.

Feb. 2. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 334.

NOTTINGHAM. B. P. i. 335.

READING. B. P. i. 335.

Mar. 17. CLEKKENWELL. R. de Diceto, 626. B. P. i. 336.
Council.

Mar. 31. WINDSOR. B. P. i. 336. R. de Diceto, 626.

April 16. DOVER to WITSAND. B. P. i. 337.

April 21. Easter. ROUEN. R. de Diceto, 626.

VAUDREUIL. R. de Diceto, 626. (Three days.)

Nov. 7. AUMÂLE. R. de Diceto, 629. Conference.

Nov. 9. BELVEIR. R. de Diceto, 629.

Dec. 25. DOMFRONT. B. P. i. 343. R. de Monte, 937.

A.D. 1186.

Jan. —. DOMFRONT.

Mar. 10. Gisors. B. P. i. 343. R. de Diceto, 630.

April 27. BARFLEUR to SOUTHAMPTON. B. P. i. 345. R. de
Diceto, 630.

MEREWELL. R. de Diceto, 630.

WINCHESTER. R. de Diceto, 630.

May 25. EYNSHAM. Council for eight days. B. P. i. 345. R.
de Diceto, 631.

June 1. WOODSTOCK. Vita S. Hugonis, 102.

CARLISLE. B. P. i. 348.

Sept. 5. WOODSTOCK. B. P. i. 351. (Four days.)

Sept. 9. MARLBOROUGH. B. P. i. 351.

Sept. 14. MARLBOROUGH. Council. B. P. i. 352.

READING. B. P. i. 353.

Nov. 30. AMESBURY. B. P. i. 353.

Dec. 25. GUILDFORD. B. P. ii. 3. Epp. Cantuar. 28.

A.D. 1187.

Jan. 1. WESTMINSTER. B. P. ii. 4.

Feb. 10. CHILHAM. Gerv. 1489.

Feb. 11. CANTERBURY. Gerv. 1490.

Feb. 17. DOVER to WITSAND. B. P. ii. 5. Gerv. 1491.

Feb. 18. HESDIN. R. de Diceto, 634.

Feb. 19. DRIENCOURT. R. de Diceto, 634.

AUMÂLE. B. P. ii. 5.

April 5. Gué S. REMY. B. P. ii. 5. R. de Dic. 635.

May 17. Pentecost. B. P. ii. 6.

A.D. 1187.

- June 23. CHÂTEAUBOUX. B. P. ii. 6.
 Aug. 28. ALENÇON. Gerv. 1505. Epp. Cantuar. 90.
 ANGERS. B. P. ii. 9.
 MONTRELEIS. B. P. ii. 9.
 Nov. —. CAEN. Gerv. 1510.
 Nov. —. BUR. Epp. Cant. 106.
 Dec. 25. CAEN. B. P. ii. 29.

A.D. 1188.

- Jan. —. CAEN.
 BARFLEUR. B. P. ii. 29.
 GISORS. B. P. ii. 29.
 Jan. 21. GISORS. Conference. B. P. ii. 29. R. de Diceto,
 636.
 LE MANS. Council. B. P. ii. 30.
 Jan. 30. DIEPPE to WINCHELSEA. B. P. ii. 32. Gerv. 1520.
 Feb. —. OTFORD. Epp. Cantuar. 162.
 Feb. 11. GEDDINGTON. B. P. ii. 33. Council. Gerv. 1522.
 Feb. 29. CLARENDON. Gerv. 1527. Epp. Cantuar. 221.
 Mar. 1. CLARENDON. Epp. Cantuar. 221.
 CIRENCESTER. Gerv. 1527.
 April —.
 April 24. LONDON. Gerv. 1530, 1532.
 July 10, 11. PORTSEA to BARFLEUR. B. P. ii. 40. Gerv. 1535.
 ALENÇON. B. P. ii. 40.
 Aug. 16. GISORS. R. de Diceto, 639.
 Aug. 30. MANTES. B. P. ii. 46.
 Aug. 31. YVRY. B. P. ii. 46.
 Sept. 1. B. P. ii. 47.
 GISORS. Conference. B. P. ii. 47.
 Oct. 7. CHÂTILLON. Conference. B. P. ii. 49.
 Nov. 18. BONSMOULINS. Conference. R. de Diceto, 641. B. P.
 ii. 50.
 Into AQUITAINE. Gerv. 1537.
 Dec. 25. SAUMUR. B. P. ii. 61.

A.D. 1189.

- Jan. —. SAUMUR.
 Feb. 1. LE MANS. Epp. Cant. 282.
 May 19. LE MANS. Epp. Cant. 292.
 May 28. LA FERTÉ BERNARD. Conference. B. P. ii. 66. R.
 de Diceto, 644.
 June 12. LE MANS. B. P. ii. 67. R. de Diceto, 644.
 FRENELLES. Gir. Camb. Inst. Pr. iii. 25
 ANGERS. Gir. Camb. iii. 25.
 SAVIGNY (?). Gir. Camb. iii. 25.
 CHINON. B. P. ii. 68.

cxlviii OUTLINE ITINERARY OF HENRY II.

A.D. 1159.

June 28. Between TOURS and AZAI. R. de Dic. 645.

June 29.

June 30.

July 1.

July 2. SAUMUR. B. P. ii. 69.

July 3. AZAI (P) Epp. Cantuar. 297.

July 4. COLOMBIERES near VILLANDRY. Rigord.

July 5. CHINON.

July 6. CHINON. B. P. ii. 71.

APPENDIX II.

ASSIZE OF CLARENDON.

A.D. 1166.

(MS. Reg. 14, c. 2, fo. 275.)

HÆC EST ASSISA FACTA APUD CLARENDUNE.

HÆC est Assisa, quam dominus rex Henricus consilio archiepiscoporum¹ et episcoporum et abbatum cæterorumque baronum suorum statuit pro pace servanda et justitia tenenda.

1. ² Quod per singulos comitatus inquirent per singulos hundredos per duodecim legaliores homines de hundredo, et per quatuor legales homines de qualibet villata, per sacramentum quod illi verum dicent, si [in] hundredo [vel] in villata sua sit aliquis homo qui sit rectatus vel publicatus, quod ipse sit roberator vel murdrator, vel latro, vel aliquis qui fuerit receptor roberatorum vel murdratorum vel latronum, postquam dominus rex fuit rex.³ Et hæc inquirent justitiæ coram se, et vicecomites coram se.

2. Et qui invenietur per sacramentum prædictum retatus vel publicatus de prædictis, eat ad juisani

Inquest to be made by oath of twelve men of the hundred and four men of the township, before the justices and sheriff, concerning offenders.

Persons so arraigned to be brought to the ordeal of water.

¹ These may be looked upon as the enacting words of the Assize, and are probably formal. The use of the word *archiepiscoporum* does not imply the presence of both the archbishops, for Thomas of Canterbury was in exile at the time. For the date and occasion of the Assize, see above, pp. lx., &c.

² With this first article compare the first of the Assize of Northampton, B. P. i. 108. For Anglo-Saxon precedent, see Ll. Ethelred, iii. 3, Thorpe, 125.

³ Cf. art. 5 of Assize of Northampton, B. P. i. 109, as illustrating the retrospective character of the Act. See also art. 22 below.

A.D. 1100. aquæ; et juret quod ipse non fuit roberator vel murdrator vel latro vel receptor eorum postquam dominus rex fuit rex, de valentia quinque solidorum, quod ipse sciat.¹

Bail may be taken at the request of the lord of the accused.

3. Et si dominus² ejus qui captus fuerit, vel dapifer ejus, requisierint eum per plegios, infra tres dies postquam captus fuerit, replegiatur ille donec faciat legem suam.

Sheriffs to apply to the justices for a day of trial; two men of the hundred or township to appear before the justices to record the presentment before the prisoner undergoes the ordeal.

4. Et quando roberatores vel murdratores vel latrones vel receptores eorum capti fuerint per prædictum sacramentum; si justitiæ non fuerint tam cito venturi in illum comitatum ubi capti fuerint, vicecomites mandent propinquiore justitiæ per intelligentem hominem, quod tales homines ceperint; et justitiæ remandabunt vicecomitibus ubi voluerint quod illi ducantur ante eos. Et vicecomes eos ducat ante justitias, et illic ducantur de hundredo et villata ubi capti fuerint, duo legales homines ad recordandum recordationem hundredi et comitatus quare capti fuerint. Et ibi ante justitias faciant legem suam.

Jurisdiction over persons so arraigned belongs to the king only, who also shall have their chattels.

Persons otherwise arraigned to be committed to the sheriff to be brought before the justices.

5.³ Et de illis qui capti fuerint per prædictum sacramentum nullus habebit curiam vel justitiam nec catalla nisi dominus rex in curia sua coram justitiis ejus. Et dominus rex habebit omnia catalla eorum.

6. De illis qui capti fuerint aliter quam per prædictum sacramentum, sit sicut esse debet. Et vicecomites [qui] eos ceperint eos ducant ante justitias quos ceperint, sine alia summonitione quam inde habebant. Et omnes roberatores et murdratores et latrones et recep-

¹ According to the assize as recorded in the Assize of Northampton, the culprit, if he failed in the ordeal of water, was to lose one foot, to which the Assize of Northampton added the further loss of the right hand, and expulsion from the country within forty days. B. P. i. 108.

² The responsibility of the lord for the people within his "borh" was an old feature of Anglo-Saxon and Danish law. Cf. Ll. Canuti, Thorpe, 161, Athelstan, ii. 7, p. 92, &c.

³ On this article see Dialogus de Scaccario, ii. 10, pp. 46 and 49.

tores eorum, per hoc sacramentum vel aliter tradantur A.D. 1166.
vicecomitibus, et ipsi recipiant eos statim et sine
dilatione.¹

7. Et in singulis comitatibus [in] quibus non fuerint Gaols to be made in the counties in which there are none.
gaioles,² fiant in burgo vel in aliquo castello domini
regis, vel [de] bosco ejus si prope fuerit vel de alio
bosco propinquiori, per visum servientium regis, ad hoc,
ut vicecomites in illis possint illos qui capti fuerint
per ministros et servientes suos custodire.

8. ³ Vult etiam dominus rex quod omnes veniant All persons to attend the county court to serve on these juries.
ad comitatum ad hoc sacramentum faciendum, ita quod
nullus remaneat pro libertate quam habeat, vel curia
vel soca quam habeat, quod non veniat ad sacramen-
tum faciendum.

9. Et non sit aliquis in[fra] castellum vel extra cas- The sheriffs to enter all franchises for view of frankpledge.
tellum, nec etiam in honore de Wareng[e]ford],⁴ qui
vetet vicecomites intrare in curiam suam et terram ad
videndum francos plegios quod omnes sint sub plegio.

10. Et ante vicecomites mittantur sub libero ple- No one is to receive persons in his land, house, or franchise,
gio: et in comitatu et in burgo nullus habeat homines
nec receptet in terra sua vel in domo sua vel in

¹ Cf. Assize of Northampton, classe xii., B. P. i. 110.

² A confirmation of the date ascribed to this assize in the foregoing preface is afforded by the fact that in the Pipe Rolls for 1166 there occurs a very large increase in the expenses incurred in the building of gaols: new ones were built, or old ones repaired, at Canterbury, Rochester, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Sarum, Malmesbury, Aylesbury, Bedford, and in many other places.

³ All are to attend the county court to make presentment on oath: this is the foundation of the obligation to serve on juries. We find a fine accounted for in the Pipe Roll of 1166 for a breach of this article:

"homines de Tichesoura, debent
"v. marcas quia noruerunt jurare
"assisam regis." Rutland.

⁴ Sir Francis Palgrave understood by this word the honour of Warene; but it is clearly the honour of Wallingford that is meant. He compares the mention of the honour of Boulogne in Magna Charta. Historically it is of little importance; the honour of Wallingford was, however, in the king's hands, which that of Warene was not; and the force of the passage seems to be, that no one should avail himself of the privileges of even an escheated jurisdiction to elude the visit of the sheriff.

A.D. 1166. soca sua, quos non in manu capiat quod habebit eos ante justitias si requisiti fuerint, vel sint sub franco plegio.

who are not in frank-pledge, or for whom he will not answer.

No lord of a franchise is to hinder the sheriff from arresting persons implicated.

11. Et nulli sint in civitate nec in burgo nec in castello vel extra castellum, nec in honore Warengo-[ford], qui vetent vicecomites intrare in terram suam vel socam ad capiendum illos qui retati sunt vel publicati quod sint roberatores vel murdratores vel latrones vel receptores eorum, vel uthlagati vel retati de foresta regis; sed præceptum est quod juvent eos ad illos capiendum.

Persons found with stolen goods, not having warranty, are not to be admitted to ordeal.

12.¹ Et si aliquis fuerit captus qui fuerit saisitus de roberia vel latrocinio, si ipse sit defamatus et habeat malum testimonium de publicamento, et non habeat warantum, non habeat legem.

Persons accused, but not found with stolen goods, may have ordeal: a confession made before the hundred may not be withdrawn.

13.¹ Et si non fuerit publicatus per saisinam quam habeat, eat ad aquam. Et si aliquis fuerit recognoscens coram legalibus hominibus de hundredo, vel de roberia vel murdredo vel latrocinio vel receptione eorum, et postea negare voluerit, non habeat legem.

Persons presented and cleared at the ordeal are to quit the country or to be outlawed.

14. Vult etiam dominus rex quod illi qui facient suam legem et mundi erunt per legem, si ipsi fuerint de testimonio pessimo et publice et turpiter defamati multorum testimonio et legalium hominum,² foris jurent terram regis, ita quod infra octo dies mare transibunt nisi aura eos detinuerit, et cum prima aura quam habebunt mare transibunt, et ultra in Angliam non revertentur nisi per misericordiam regis, et ibi sint uthlagati. Et si redierint capiantur sicut uthlagati.

¹ With articles 12 and 13 compare the third clause of the Assize of Northampton, B. P. i. 109; Ll. Willelmi I. 24; Thorpe, p. 206; Glanvill, viii. 9.

² This article seems to be amended by the first clause of the Assize of Northampton; according to which

those presented for murder or felony, even if they succeeded in passing the ordeal, were compelled to leave the country within forty days. B. P. i. 108. It is to be remembered that the culprit was practically found guilty before he went to the ordeal.

15. Prohibet etiam dominus rex ne aliquis waivus vel ignotus hospitetur alicubi nisi in burgo, et ibi non nisi una nocte; nisi ipse ibi infirmetur vel equus ejus, ita quod monstrare possit rationabilem causam.

A.D. 1166.
No stranger to be admitted to lodges except in a borough, and then for one night; or he and his entertainer to be arrested.

16. Et si [hospitetur] plusquam una nocte, capiatur donec dominus ejus venerit ad plegiandum eum, vel ipse habeat salvos plegios, et ipse similiter capiatur qui eum hospitatus fuerit.¹

17. Et si aliquis vicecomes mandaverit alio vicecomiti, quod homines fugerint de vicecomitatu suo in alium comitatum pro roberia vel pro murthero vel latrocinio vel receptione eorum, vel pro uthlagaria vel pro recto forestæ regis, ille capiat illos; et etiam si per se vel per alios sciret quod tales homines fugerint in suum comitatum, capiat eos et custodiat donec de eis habeat salvos plegios.

Fugitives for these crimes to be arrested in other counties with or without request of the sheriff.

18. Et omnes vicecomites faciant inbreviari omnes fugitivos qui fugerint de suis comitatibus, et hoc faciant coram comitatu, et illorum nomina scripta portent ante justitias cum primo venerint ad illos, ut illi per totam Angliam quærantur et eorum catalla capiantur ad opus regis.²

A register of fugitives to be made, and their chattels forfeited to the king.

¹ This is an increase of stringency on the ancient law, which relieved the entertainer from all responsibility for his guest until after the third night of his stay. See LL. Edw. Conf., cap. xxiii., ed. Thorpe (folio edition), 195; LL. Willelmi senioris, ap. Hoveden, 345, and Thorpe, 209; LL. Henrici Primi, viii., Thorpe, 223: and compare the Assize of Northampton, B. P. i. 109.

² Compare the last clause of the Assize of Northampton, B. P. i. 111.

³ On the disposition of the chattels of fugitives, see note at p. lxi. above, and cf. Dialogus de Scaccario, pp. 46-48. The *Catalla fugitivorum*

begin to be accounted for in small quantities in the 8th year of Henry II., and continue during the 9th, 10th and 11th years; but in the 12th there is a vast accession of accounts on this head, under the title of "*Catalla fugitivorum et eorum qui perierunt in judicio aquæ*," which appears in the rolls of the 15th year as "*De catallis fugitivorum et suspensorum per assisam de Clarendon*." It seems probable that Henry had made a previous regulation on the subject, perhaps in the 8th year, which was extended in the present Act; for the matter is referred to in the 15th of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and it is certainly an innovation on the old

A.D. 1164.
Sheriffs to
inquire in
the county
court about
all new
comers
since the
making of
this assize.

19. Et dominus rex vult, ex quo vicecomites susceperint summonitiones justitiarum itinerantium, ut ipsi cum comitatibus suis sint ante illos, illi aggregabunt comitatus suos, et inquirent omnes qui de novo venerint in suos comitatus post hanc assisam, et illos mittent per plegios quod sint coram justitiis, vel illos custodient donec justitiis ad illos venerint, et tunc habebunt illos coram justitiis.

None of the
men people
to be ad-
mitted to
religious
houses with-
out inquiry
as to char-
acter.

20. Prohibet etiam dominus rex ne monachi vel canonici vel aliqua domus religionis recipiant aliquem de minuto populo in monachum vel canonicum vel fratrem, donec sciatur de quali testimonio ipse fuerit, nisi ipse infirmus fuerit ad mortem.

The Oxford
heretics
proscribed.

21. Prohibet dominus rex ne aliquis in tota Anglia receptet in terra sua vel soca sua vel domo sub se, aliquem de secta illorum renegatorum qui fuerint excommunicati et signati apud Oxeneford. ¹ Et si quis eos receperit, sit in misericordia domini regis, et domus in qua illi fuerint asportetur extra villam et comburatur. Et hoc jurabit unusquisque vicecomes quod hoc tenebit, et hoc jurare faciet omnes ministros suos et dapiferos et barones et omnes milites et franco tenentes de comitatu.

Assize to be
kept during
the king's
pleasure.

22. Et vult dominus rex quod hæc assisa teneatur in regno suo quamdiu ei placuerit.²

laws as stated in LL. Willelmi I., art. 47, Thorpe, p. 209. The author of the Dialogus explains that the king took the chattels of "ascrip-titi" who had committed felonies, for fear that if their lords were suffered to have them, they would make it a handle for oppression by false accusation.

¹ On this subject, see above, p. lx.

² Cf. Ass. Northampt., B. P. i. 108. "Hæc autem assisa stenebit " a tempore quo assisa facta fuit " apud Clarendonam usque ad hoc " tempus, et amodo quamdiu do- " mino regi placuerit."

APPENDIX III.

INQUEST OF SHERIFFS.

A.D. 1170.

(Gervase ap. Twysden, c. 1410.)

¹ IN primis exigent barones errantes vadium et plegium ab omnibus vicecomitibus qui fuerunt vicecomites postquam rex transfretavit in Normanniam, et ab omnibus qui post terminum illum fuerunt bailivi et ministri illorum, quamcunque bailiam de illis habuerunt, et ab omnibus illis qui post terminum illum hundredos baronum quos ipsi habent in comitatibus, sive illos habuerunt ad firmam sive in custodia, quod erunt coram domino rege die quem ipsi eis constituent, ad rectum faciendum et addretiandum ei et hominibus suis quod addretiare debuerint. Et si vicecomites ante illos venire non possint, mittant loco suo qui pro eis respondeant, et illi dent vadium et plegios sufficientes pro vicecomitibus, et ipsi ipsis, quod facient coram domino rege hoc quod vicecomites facere deberent ad diem constitutum. Postea capient sacramentum ab

All sheriffs and bailiffs to be summoned to appear before the king on a day to be appointed by the barons errant.

¹ These are the directions given to the commissioners for inquiring into the conduct of the sheriffs in the year 1170. See above, pref., pp. lxxviii., &c. The *barones errantes* for Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, Berks, Oxfordshire, Bucks, and Bedfordshire, were the abbots of S. Augustine's and Chertsey, the earl of Clare, William of Avranches, Manasser of

Dammartin, Gerold FitzRalph, Gilbert de Pinkeni, William FitzHelton, William FitzNeal, William FitzMartin, Ralph of the Hospital, Ralph de Dene. Gerv. 1410. In Warwickshire and Leicestershire, Walter de Insula and Eustace FitzStephen acted. Rot. Pip. Ann. 19 Hen. II., Madox, 96.

A.D. 1179. omnibus baronibus, militibus et liberis hominibus de comitatu, et cæteris hominibus, et ab omnibus civibus et burgensibus, quod verum dicent¹ de hoc quod ab eis inquiretur ex parte domini regis, et quod non celabunt veritatem neque pro alicujus amore nec odio, nec prece, nec pretio, nec timore, nec pro aliqua promissione, nec pro ulla re:—

I. The receipts of the sheriffs made with or without judgment of the county court. I. In primis inquiretur de vicecomitibus et bailivis eorum quid vel quantum acceperint de singulis hundredis et singulis villatis et singulis hominibus, postquam rex novissime transfretavit in Normanniam, unde terra vel homines gravati sunt; et quid acceperint per judicium comitatus vel hundredi, et quid sine judicio; et quod inquisierint captum esse per judicium scribatur separatim, et quod sine judicio similiter separatim scribatur. Et de omnibus priis inquirent causam et testimonium.

II. Proceedings of land by the sheriffs. II. Similiter inquiretur quot et quas terras vicecomites vel bailivi eorum emerint vel invadiaverint.

III. Receipts of the lands of franchise with or without judgment of court. III. Similiter inquiretur de archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, vavasoribus, militibus, civibus, burgensibus et eorum senescallis, prepositis et ministris, quid vel quantum acceperint per terras suas post terminum supradictum, de singulis hundredis suis vel villatis et de singulis hominibus suis per judicium vel sine judicio; et omnes prias et causas et occasiones earum scribant separatim.

IV. Receipts of the king's bailiffs for vacant churches and churches. IV. Similiter inquiretur de omnibus illis qui post terminum illum habuerint aliquis bailias de rege in custodia, sive de archiepiscopatu, sive de episcopatu, sive de abbatia, vel de baronia, sive de honore aliquo, vel aliqua ecclesia, quid et quantum in bailia illa adquisierint.

¹ William Rouset seems to have been fined by a jury, or to have paid a fine to escape the verdict of a jury. "Wilhelmus Rouset debet

" a. marcus pro fine quam fecit cum
" rege de jurata facta super eum.
" de inquisitione vicecomitum An-
" glie." *Medæ*, 87.

V. Similiter inquiratur de bailivis regis qui per terram suam erraverunt pro negotiis regis faciendis, quid eis datum sit.

A.D. 1170.

V. The receipts of the king's travelling bailiffs.

VI. Et de catallis fugitivorum pro assisa de Clarendune,¹ et de catallis eorum qui per assisam illam perierunt, inquiratur quid actum sit, et quid inde exierit de singulis hundredis et singulis villatis et singulis hominibus. Et inquiratur an aliquis in assisa illa injuste rectatus fuerit pro præmio vel promissione, vel odio, vel aliquo modo injusto, et an aliquis de rectatis relaxatus fuerit vel reversus pro præmio, vel promissione, vel amore, et quis inde præmium acceperit.

VI. Receipts from fugitives and felons under the assize of Clarendon, and manner of administration of that assize.

VII. Et inquiratur de auxilio ad maritandam filiam regis,² quid inde exierit de singulis hundredis, et de singulis villatis et de singulis hominibus, sive in redditis, sive in pardonis, et cui illud traditum et liberatum fuerit.

VII. Receipts on account of the aid pur fille marier.

VIII. Et inquiratur quid et quantum acceperint forestarii et bailivi et ministri eorum post terminum supradictum in bailiis suis, quocunque modo illud acceperint vel quacunque occasione; et si quid pardonaverint de rectis domini regis pro præmio vel promissione, vel amicitia alicujus, et de forisfactis forestarum, et de iis qui in forestis suis forisfecerunt de cervis et bissis et aliis bestiis salvagiis; et si forestarii vel bailivi eorum aliquem acceperint vel attacaverint per vadium, et per plegium, vel rectaverint, et postea sine justitia per se relaxaverint. Et qui hæc fecerint inquirantur et inbrevientur.

VIII. Receipts of the foresters and their servants;

and manner of administration of the forest law.

IX. Et omnes qui rectati fuerint de quocunque recto ponantur per vadium et per plegium quod sint coram domino rege die quem eis ponent, et quod rectum facient, et addretiabunt ei et hominibus suis quod ad-

IX. All the persons accused to give bail for their appearance, and for

¹ See above, pp. lx., lxi., and Madox, Hist. Exch., 236.

² The aid levied for the marriage

of Matilda with Henry the Lion, 14 Hen. II., A.D. 1168.

A.D. 1170. **dre**tiare debuerint.¹ Et quibus plegii defuerint custodiantur.

X. Inquiry to be made whether the sheriffs have smothered any complaints since the king's return. **X.** Et inquiretur si vicecomites, vel quicunque bailivi eorum, vel domini villarum vel bailivi eorum, aliquid reddiderint de iis quæ acceperant, vel si pacem aliquam cum hominibus fecerint postquam audierunt adventum domini regis pro disturbare ne inde ante regem vel justitias querimonia veniret.

XI. Whether any person has been unduly favoured. **XI.** Et de merciatis inquiretur, si aliquis relaxus fuerit pro præmio vel amore de hoc quod primo fuit amerciatus. Et per quem hoc factum fuerit.

XII. What have been the receipts of archdeacons and deans. **XII.** Et similiter inquiretur per omnes episcopatus quid et quantum et qua de causa archidiaconi vel decani injuste et sine iudicio ceperint, et hoc totum scribatur.

XIII. Who have not done homage to the king. **XIII.** Et inquiretur qui debent regi hominum, et nondum fecerunt, neque illi neque filio suo, et inbrevientur.

¹ These are the very words used in our Chronicle with reference to this inquest, i. 6.

APPENDIX IV.

FOREST ASSIZE OF HENRY II.

(From MS. Reg. 14, c. 2, fo. 274, &c.)

ASSISA REGNI DE FORESTIS ANGLIÆ.

Hæc sunt videnda in regardis forestæ.¹

VIDENDA sunt essarta antiquitus facta et hoc anno inbladata, quantum ibi sit per numerum acrarum, et quis ea inbladaverit, et quis tenet, et in cujus feodo sint, et quo blado inbladata, et si non sunt inbladata quo blado anno proximo fuerint inbladiata : et sunt scribenda per se.

Matters to be inquired in the regard of the forest.
I. Old essarta.

De eodem.

Similiter videndæ sunt purpresturæ ubicunque fuerint in foresta domini regis, sive in bosco, sive in plano, sive in landa, sive in brueria, sive in marisco, et quocunque modo occupatæ fuerint, vel domibus, vel molendinis, vel stangnis, vel vivariis, vel fossatis, vel in glebis, vel in frussuris vel aliquo alio modo ; et quis eas fecerit et quis eas tenet, et in cujus feodo factæ sint : et scribantur per se.

II. Purprestures.

De eodem.

Similiter videnda sunt vasta forestæ, scilicet de dominicis boscis domini regis, unumquemque ceptum² de quercu vel fago videndum et inbreviandum, qui post ultimum regardum coppati³ fuerint. Et si bosci per

III. Waste in forests of demesne.

Compare Hoveden, 446 a, 41, &c.

² *ceptum*] *ceppus*, MS. Vesp. F. iv.

³ *coppati*] *côpata*, MS. 224 f

III. Waste in forests of domains. esbrancaturam sint deteriorati, quid inde ad vastum debeat atornari, vel si de subbosco vasti sint: et id scribatur per se.

De eodem.

IV. Waste in other wood. De aliis autem boscis videantur vasta sicut antiquitus videri solent, et nomina villarum et dominorum quibus appendent, et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

V. Closes and fenced ground of the king. Similiter videndæ sunt hais et defensæ domini regis, de quibus nemo communicat, et in quæ nulla animalia intrare debent, et tam de bosco quam de pastura, et herbergagio sint in eodem statu in quo esse debent: et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

VI. Mines. Similiter videndum est de mineriis, si sint in foresta, quis eas tenet, et quæ servitia inde facit, et facere debet: et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

VII. Eyries. Similiter videndum est de aeriis accipitrum et speruoriorum, si in foresta fuerint; quis eas habet et habere debet; an domini regis an alterius.

De eodem.

VIII. New courts. Similiter videnda sunt essarta post ultimum regardum facta, scilicet quantum ibi sit per numerum acrarum, et quis in ea fecerit, et quis tenet, et in cujus feodo sint, et si inbladiata sint, et quo blado sint inbladiata: et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

IX. Forges. Similiter videndæ sunt forgiæ si sunt ubi esse debeant, et ubi fuerint tempore Henrici regis et scribantur per se.

[INCIPIT ASSISA DOMINI HENRICI REGIS DE FORESTA.] A.D. 1184.

[Hæc est assisa domini Henrici regis filii Matildis, in Anglia, de foresta et venatione sua per consilium et assensum archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et baronum, comitum et nobilium Angliæ apud Wudestoke.]

*Hæc sunt præcepta ejus de forestis suis Angliæ.*¹

MS. A. Art.
1.

I. Primum defendit quod nullus ei forisfaciat de venatione sua nec de forestis suis in ulla re: et non vult quod confident in hoc quod habuerit misericordiam de illis propter eorum catalla huc usque qui ei forisfecerunt de venatione sua, et de forestis suis. Nam si quis ei amodo forisfecerit et inde convictus fuerit, plenariam vult de illo habere justitiam qualis fuit facta tempore regis Henrici avi sui.²

I. The king will no longer have mercy on transgressors of the forest law.

MS. A. Art.
2.

II. Item defendit quod nullus habeat arcus, nec sagittas, nec canes, nec leporarios in forestis suis nisi habeat warantum regem vel aliquem alium qui ei warantizare poterit.

II. None to have bows, arrows, or dogs in forests without warrant.

¹ With this Assize compare the Forest dooms of Canute, Thorpe, Anglo-Saxon Laws, folio edition, pp. 183 and 184; the Forest Assize of Henry II., Benedict Peterb., i. 323, and that of Richard I. in Hoveden, ed. Savile, 445 and 446. I have not succeeded in finding a perfect copy of this assize, either in print or in any ancient MS. The text is from the Hoveden MS. With this I have collated two other copies of the Elizabethan period, found in MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. iv. at fo. 10 (noted A), and fo. 17 (noted B), which do not agree either in the order or number of the articles

with each other, or with the text, or with the copy of the assize given above (vol. i. 323), or with the copy used by Manwood, which I have not yet identified. At the end of the copy in the text I have appended in brackets the additional articles as discoverable in Manwood, and in the two MS. versions. I have not noted minor unimportant variations.

² "Tempore regis Henrici filii regis Willelmi, avi sui." MS. Vesp. F. iv. "Ut amittat oculos et testiculos." Assize of Henry II., B. P. i. 323, and of Richard I., Hoveden, 445.

- A.D. 1184. III. ¹Item defendit quod nullus donet vel vendat aliquid ad destructionem vel vastum bosci sui, qui sunt infra forestam regis Henrici: concedit bene quod capiant de boscis eorum quod necesse eis fuerit ² sine vasto, et hæc per visum forestarii regia. Manwood, Art. II. 1.
MS. A. Art. 2.
MS. B. Art. 1.
- IV. ³Item præcepit quod omnes illi qui habent boscos infra metas forestæ regis ponant idoneos ⁴ forestarios in boscis eorum; de quibus forestariis ipsi quorum bosci fuerint sint plegii, vel tales inveniant plegios idoneos qui emendare poterunt si forestarii in aliquo forisfecerint, quod domino regi pertineat. MS. A. Art. 4.
MS. B. Art. 2.
- V. Item præcepit dominus rex quod forestarii sui capiant curam super forestam ⁵ militum et aliorum qui habent boscos infra metas forestæ regis, quod bosci non destruantur; nam si super hoc fuerint destructi bosci, sciant bene illi quorum bosci fuerint destructi, quod de ipsismet vel de eorum terris ⁷ capietur emendatio, et non de alio. MS. A. Art. 5.
MS. B. Art. 2.
- VI. Item dominus rex præcepit quod omnes forestarii sui jurent quod secundum posse suum tenebunt assisam ejus qualem eam fecit de forestis suis, et quod non vexabunt milites neque alios probos homines de hoc quod dominus rex concedit illis de boscis eorum. MS. A. Art. 6.
MS. B. Art. 4.
- VII. ⁸Item rex præcepit quod in quolibet comitatu MS. A. Art. 7.

III. No one to sell or give wood to the waste of the forest: estovers only to be taken.

IV. Owners of woods within the forests to have their own foresters under pledge.

V. The royal foresters to overlook the foresters of the knights.

VI. All foresters to swear to keep this assise.

VII. Twelve

¹ See Manwood, Forest Law, viii.
4. He quotes this as the first article of the Assise of Woodstock.

² quod...fuerit] estoveria, MS. A.

³ This article is omitted in the assise as given in our Chronicle, i. 323, but it is clearly necessary to the sense of the following clause as it stands in that version.

⁴ idoneos] et legales, add Vesp.

⁵ pertineat] MS. Vesp. fo. 10 adds, "et illi qui extra metas regardi boscos habeant in quibus venatio domini regis pacem habet, nullum forestarium habeant, nisi assisam domini regis juraverint

"et pacem venationis suæ, et custodiam aliquem ad boscum ejus custodiendum. This is the 14th article in Vesp. fo. 17.

⁶ forestam] forestaria, B. P. i. 323, and Hoveden, 446.

⁷ terris] catallis, Vesp. fo. 10.

⁸ The Forest Assise given in our Chronicle, i. 323, does not contain the remaining articles as given here. It is possible then that this article is the last (as its purport would show) of some more ancient assise, to which art. 8-11 were added before, and art. 12 at, the Woodstock Assise, in 1184.

- MS. B. Art. 5. *Manwood*, Art. 2. in quo habet venationem ponantur¹ [xii] milites ad A.D. 1184. custodiendum venationem suam et viridem cum foresta;² et quatuor milites ponantur ad agistandum boscos suos et ad recipiendum panagium suum et custodiendum; et defendit rex quod nullus agistet boscos suos infra metas forestæ antequam bosci regis agistentur;³ et incipit agistamentum domini regis quindecim dies ante festum Sancti Michaelis, et durat quindecim dies post festum Sancti Michaelis. *knights to be appointed in every county to guard vert and venison, and four to agist the royal woods and take pannage. No one to agist before the king has agisted.*
- MS. A. Art. 7. *Manwood*, Art. 4. VIII. Et rex præcepit quod si forestarius ejus habeat boscos dominicos domini regis in custodia sua, et illi bosci fuerint destructi, et non possit nec sciat justam causam monstrare quare bosci destruantur, nihil aliud capiatur a forestario, nisi proprium corpus. *VIII. Negligent foresters to be punished.*
- MS. A. Art. 9. *Manwood*, Art. 5. IX. Item rex defendit quod nullus clericus ei forisfaciat de venatione sua nec de forestis suis; præcepit bene forestariis suis quod si invenerint eos forisfacientes, non dubitent in eos manum ponere, ad eos retinendum et attachiandum, et ipse eos bene warrantabit. *IX. Clerks to have no immunities.*
- MS. A. Art. 14. *Manwood*, Art. 6. X. Item rex præcepit quod sua essarta videantur⁴ nova et vetera, et purpresturæ suæ et vasta forestæ, et quod inbreviantur quælibet per se.⁵ *X. Harts to be inspected.*
- MS. A. Art. 15. *Manwood*, Art. 10. XI. Item rex præcepit quod comites et barones et milites⁶ veniant ad summonitionem magistri forestarii sui sicut se defendi volunt ne incidant in misericordiam domini regis ad placitandum placita domini regis, de forestis suis, et alia negotia sua faciendâ in comitatu.⁷ *XI. All persons bound to attend the county court are to attend the pleas of the forest as well.*

¹ ponantur] duodecim, ins. Hoveden, 446.

² et . . . foresta] et viridarii cum forestariis, MS. A.

³ et defendit . . . agistentur] *Manwood* makes this art. 4 of his Assize of Woodstock: cap. xii. s. 4.

⁴ "In quolibet tertio anno," add, Hoveden, 446, and Vesp. fo. 17.

⁵ "Secundum capitulum regardi." Vesp. fo. 10.

⁶ " Archiepiscopi, episcopi, &c.,"

B. "et libere tenentes et omnes homines," A.

⁷ The Assize of Richard contains some additions to these articles in this place; giving also here the points to be inquired in the regard of the forest, as above; and ending with the clause added at Woodstock, as in the text.

- A.D. 1184. XII. Pun-
ishment
may be
avoided by
giving secu-
rity until
the third
offence.
- XII. Apud Wdestoke rex præcepit quicumque foris-
fecerit de foresta sua semel, de ipso salvi plegii capian-
tur; et si iterum forisfecerit similiter; si autem tertio
forisfecerit, pro tertio forisfacto nulli alii plegii capian-
tur de illo nec aliquid aliud nisi proprium corpus foris
facientis.
- MS. A. Art.
12.
MS. B. Art.
12.
- XIII. All
persons to
swear to
keep the
peace of the
forest.
- [XIII. Item præcipit quod omnis homo habens æta-
tem xii. annorum manens infra pacem venationis juret
ejus pacem et clerici laicum feodum tenentes.
- MS. A. Art.
10.
MS. B. Art.
11.
Manwood,
Art. 15.
- XIV. Dogs
to be mudi-
lated.
- XIV. Item præcipit quod expeditatio mastivorum
fiat ubicunque feræ suæ pacem habent et habere con-
sueverunt.
- MS. A. Art.
11.
Manwood,
Art. 6.
- XV. Tanners
forbidden.
- XV. Item præcipit quod nullus tannator vel deal-
bator coriorum maneat in forestis suis extra burgum.
- MS. A. Art.
13.
MS. B. Art.
13.
- XVI. Hunt-
ing by night
forbidden.
- XVI. Item rex præcipit quod nullus de cætero
chaceat ullo modo ad capiendum feras per noctem in-
fra forestam neque extra, ubicunque feræ suæ frequen-
tant vel pacem habent aut habere consueverunt, sub
pœna imprisonment unius anni, et faciendo finem et
redemptionem ad voluntatem suam, et quod nullus
sub eadem pœna faciat aliquam forstallationem feris
suis vivam vel mortuam inter forestam suam et bos-
cos vel alia loca per ipsum vel progenitores suos
deafforestatos.]
- MS. B. Art.
15.
Manwood,
Art. 12.

**GESTA REGIS
HENRICI SECUNDI.**

VOL. II.

A

GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI.

Hoveden,
SS. l. 41,
shorter.

ANNO M^oC^oLXXX^oVII^o, qui est annus tricesimus tertius regni Henrici regis secundi, idem rex Henricus, filius Matildis imperatricis, tenuit sollemne festum die Nativitatis Dominicæ, quæ quinta feria evenit, in Anglia apud Gedefordam.¹

A.D. 1188.
Henry II.
keeps the
Christmas
of 1182-7 at
Guildford.

Cui interfuit Johannes filius ejus, et Johannes Cummyn archiepiscopus Divelinensis, Gaufridus Eliensis episcopus, David frater regis Scotiæ comes de Hunte-dona, Robertus comes de Leycestria, Willelmus comes de Arundel, Rogerus Bigot comes. In illo vero festo prædicti comites de Leicestria et de Harundel, et Rogerus Bigot servierunt ad mensam regis de servitio quod ad illos pertinebat in coronationibus et sollemnibus festis regum Angliæ.

The earls of
Leicester,
Arundel,
and Norfolk
perform
their cus-
tomary ser-
vices.

Ibi autem in crastino Nativitatis Domini pervenit ad aures regis quod duo legati, missi a latere Urbani summi pontificis, applicuerunt in Angliam apud Doveram; quorum unus dicebatur Octovianus,² diaconus cardinalis, et alter Hugo de Nunant, clericus et familiaris domini regis, quem ipse ad papam miserat, ut secum unum vel duos cardinales duceret, quibus do-

fo. 120 r.
Dec. 26.
The king
hears of the
arrival of
cardinal
Octavian
and Hugh
of Nunant
as legates.

¹ Gedefordam] Geldford, Hoveden.

² Octavian, cardinal deacon of SS.

Sergius and Bacchus, who became bishop of Ostia in 1189.

A.D. 1187.
Jan. 1.

The legates
are received
in process-
ion in
Westmin-
ster abbey.

Archbishop
Baldwin
persuades
the king to
conduct the
legates back
into Nor-
mandy.

He is de-
tained sever-
al days at
Dover.

but crosses
at last, Feb.
17, to Wit-
tand.

minus papa commisisset legationem in Hiberniam, ad coronandum Johannem filium suum in regem Hiberniæ. Quo audito rumore, rex misit obviam eis Johannem Divelinensem archiepiscopum, et Radulfum Herefordensem archidiaconum: et dominus rex venit Lundenias obviam eis; et recepit eos in die Circumcisionis Domini, cum venerabili processione, apud Westmonasterium in ecclesia Sancti Petri. Ipsi vero, auctoritate summi pontificis, cruces ante se portari fecerunt ubicunque ambulabant; et semper incedebant mitrati, et rubeis indumentis induti; et dicebant quod missi erant a latere domini papæ ad audiendas et terminandas causas ecclesiasticas, si quæ referendæ essent ad summum pontificem. Sed Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, et suffraganei sui, considerantes quod de adventu supradictorum legatorum nihil nisi quod in ignominiam et in detrimentum regni evenire posset, si ipsi in regno moram facerent, consuluerunt domino regi quod ipse illos secum duceret in Normanniam, ad pacem et concordiam inter ipsum et Philippum regem Franciæ faciendam; quorum consiliis rex adqueivit. Qui cum audisset per internuncios suos quod pax nullatenus reformari posset inter eos, nisi rex transfretasset, statim præmisit Johannem filium suum in Normanniam, et ipse cum prædictis legatis, et cum copiosa militum et servientium multitudine, venit usque Doveram, ubi naves suæ paratæ erant ad transfretandum: et post paucos dies mare intravit. Et cum jam fere transfretasset, et apud Witsant ante portum pervenisset, habuit sibi ventum obvium ita contrarium, quod terram ibi capere non potuit, sed eodem die in crepusculo reversus est ad Doveram. Et facta ibi mora trium dierum, die Martis proxima post Caput Jejunii, scilicet decimo tertio kalendas Martii, iterum mare intravit, et applicuit apud Witsant, ubi habuit sibi obvios Philippum comitem Flandriæ, comitem Teobaldum, et comitem de

Gynes,¹ et alios multos de comitibus et baronibus de regno Franciæ, qui eum et suos cum gaudio recipientes, saluum conductum usque in Normanniam fecerunt. Cum vero dominus rex venisset ad Aubemarliam, habuit ibi sibi obvium Walterum archiepiscopum Rotomagensensem, et Ricardum ducem Aquitanniæ, et Johannem fratrem ejus et Willelmum de Mandevil comitem de Aubemarle, et multos alios de familiaribus suis, tam de episcopis quam comitibus et baronibus suis. Sed interim magna pars de familia regis, volens transfretare in Normanniam, inter Schorham et Depe, submersa est in mari cum magna parte thesauri Aaronis Judæi Lincolnensis defuncti.

A.D. 1187.
Feb. 17.
He proceeds into Normandy, and meets his followers at Aumale.

Great part of his retinue lost at sea.

In crastino vero postquam rex transfretaverat, Gilbertus² Lundoniensis obiit.

Gilbert Foliot dies, Feb. 18.

Interim appropinquante festo Annunciationis Domini, Philippus rex Francorum et Henricus rex Angliæ inter se ceperunt colloquium, statuantes diem colloqui in octavis Paschæ, apud Nonencurt ad vadum Sancti Remigii. Quo cum venissent, nec inter eos, cum inde diu tractassent, convenire potuissent, propter intolerabiles exigentias quas rex Franciæ sibi fieri postulavit, sine spe pacis et concordie recesserunt.

Towards Lady-day the king of France proposes a conference for April 8, at Gué S. Remy, which proves useless.

Interim per præceptum regis Angliæ facta est apud Doveram turris fortissima.

Strong tower built at Dover.

De discordia inter regem Franciæ, et Henricum regem Angliæ.

His ita gestis, et ita se habentibus inter Philippum regem Franciæ et Henricum regem Angliæ, Fredericus Romanorum imperator misit exercitum suum cum rege

During the quarrel between Henry and Philip.

¹ Gynes] Baldwin II., count of Guisnes, 1169-1206.

² Foliot, bishop of London 1163-1187.

A.D. 1187. **filio¹ suo in Lombardia; in quo prædictus rex Fran-**
the emperor sends an army into Lombardy. **corum magnam fiduciam ei auxiliandi contra regem Angliæ habebat.**

May 17. **Adveniente igitur Pentecosten, Henricus rex Angliæ**
Henry divides his army into four parts. **divisit exercitum suum in quatuor partes. Et unam partem tradidit Ricardo filio suo duci Aquitanniæ; alteram Johanni filio suo; tertiam Willelmo de Mandevil comiti de Aubemarle; et quartam partem Gaufrido filio suo et cancellario, quondam Lincolnensis ecclesiæ electo. Et illis thesauros suos distribuit, et assignavit eis provincias et castella sua custodienda et defendenda contra Philippum regem Franciæ.**

Philippus vero rex Franciæ, magno congregato exercitu, profectus est in Berriam, et obsedit Castellum Radulfi, et comitem Ricardum et Johannem fratrem suum, filios regis Angliæ, intus obsedit. Et cum diu ibi moram fecisset, et castellum capere non potuisset; recessit inde et disposuit acies suas ad bellum campestre. Nam rex Angliæ cum exercitu suo magno et valido illuc advenit ad auxiliandum filiis suis. Sed rex Franciæ, audito ejus adventu, ab obsidione recessit; et, ut supradictum est, paravit se et suos ad bellum campestre. Similiter rex Angliæ et sui præparabant se ad bellum. Et cum dies opportunus advenisset, præfati reges in ipsa vigilia Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, in loco competentis et præelecto, acies suas hinc inde armatas ad pugnam præordinaverunt, et in singulis locis prout expedire viderant statuerunt. Et cum omnia parata essent ad pugnam, auxiliante Dei misericordia, et Urbani summi pontificis mandato coercente, qui in mandatis dederat quod nisi pax inter illos citius fieret, anathemati subjacerent, archiepiscopi etiam et episcopi, abbates, comites et barones utriusque regni, non permittentes illos congredi, dederunt illis in consilio quod

Philip besieges Richard and John in Châteaurox.

He raises the siege, and prepares for a pitched battle on June 23.

The clergy and nobles intervene,

Hoveden, 261. b. 52, much shorter.

¹ Henry, afterwards the emperor Henry VI.

Hoveden,
vol. i. c. 2.

pax inter illos [esset] vel treugæ longiores. Et ad mandatum summi pontificis et consilium fidelium suorum ceperunt inter se tregas biennium; ita quod rex Franciæ haberet Ysoudun et Ursum de Freteval, usque ad terminum treugarum. Et sic uterque illorum et exercitus sui arma deponentes, ad propria remearunt, laudantes Deum Qui pacem præstitit illis.

A.D. 1187.
June 22.
and a truce
for two
years is
made.

Hoveden,
vol. i. c. 6,
shorter,

Facta itaque pace, Ricardus dux Aquitanniæ, filius regis Angliæ, moram fecit cum Philippo rege Franciæ, quem ipse in tantum honoravit per longum tempus, quod singulis diebus in una mensa ad unum catinum manducabant, et in noctibus non separabat eos lectus. Et dilexit eum rex Franciæ quasi animam suam; et in tantum se mutuo diligebant, quod propter vehementem dilectionem quæ inter illos erat, dominus rex Angliæ nimio stupore arreptus admirabatur quid hoc esset. Et præcavens sibi in futurum, voluntatem transfretandi in Angliam, quam in animo præconceperat, distulit donec sciret quid tam repentinus amor machinaretur.

Richard
visits Philip.

fo. 121 r.

Henry is
alarmed at
their intimacy.

Eodem anno comes de Neverz,¹ cui rex Angliæ dederat in uxorem illam quæ fuit uxor Odonis de Ysodun cum custodia hæredis, reddidit regi Franciæ Ysodun, et adhæsit ei. Similiter fecit Ursus de Freteval, qui erat homo ligius regis Angliæ; reddidit se regi Franciæ.

The count
of Nevers
and Ursus
of Freteval
desert
Henry.

Willelmus rex Scotiæ.

Hoveden,
vol. i. c. 22,
very briefly.

Interim Willelmus rex Scotiæ, magno congregato exercitu, profectus est Moraviam, ad debellandum quendam

William
the Lion
marches

¹ This is Robert II., count of Dreux, cousin of king Philip, and husband of Maud, countess of Nevers, the widow first of Eudes of Ysoudun, secondly, of Guy of Ne-

vers, thirdly, of Peter of Flanders. Her daughter Agnes, the wife of Peter of Courtenay, was the real countess. See vol. I., p. 124.

A.D. 1187.
into Moravia
against (Ro-
land) Mach
William.

He stays at
Lutetia,
and sends
his barons
against Mac
William.

A detach-
ment under
Roland of
Cathern,
falls on
the army of
Mac William
and kills
him.

hostem suum qui nominabatur Mach Willam : qui etiam dicebat se regia stirpe genitum, et de jure parentum suorum, ut asserbat, regnum Scotiæ calumniabatur, et multa et incommoda faciebat sæpe Willelmo regi Scotiæ, per consensum et consilium comitum et baronum regni Scotiæ. Considerans itaque præfatus Willelmus rex quod oporteret eum regnum Scotiæ amittere, vel prædictum Mach Willam interficere, vel etiam a finibus regni sui expellere, in Moraviam profectus, constituit super exercitum suum tribunos et centuriones; dixitque ad populum, "Egrediar et ego vobiscum;" et respondit populus, "Non exhibis, melius est enim ut sis nobis in urbe præsidium;" ad quos rex ait, "Quod vobis videtur rectum, hoc faciam." Et remansit rex in castello quod dicitur Ylvernus; et misit comites et barones suos cum Scottis et Galwensibus ad debellandum prædictum hostem suum. Cumque profecti essent, orta est inter principes seditio: quidam enim illorum regem diligebant minime, quidam vero diligebant. Et hi procedere volebant, sed cæteri non permiserunt. Cumque contendissent, placuit eis quod principes exercitus remanerent, et præmitterent exploratores ut cibum caperent. Eligerunt ergo juvenes bellicosos fere tria millia, quos miserunt ad quærendum præfatum regis inimicum. Inter quos familia Rolandi filii Uctredi erat; ad cujus nutum omnium pendebat sententia. Cum vero appropinquassent exercitum præfati Willelmi, insultum fecerunt in illos, et interfecerunt ipsum Willelmum et multos de exercitu suo; et reliquam partem fugere compulerunt, et eorum spolia inter se dividerunt, et caput prædicti Willelmi abscissum detulerunt secum, et presentaverunt illud regi Scotiæ. Et sic præstato illi pax magna facta est in regno Scotiæ. Et propter mala quæ fecerat, neque luctus, neque clamor, sed nec ullus dolor de morte ejus factus est. Nec mirum: "Luctus namque impiorum brevis est, et gaudium

2 Sam. xviii.
2, 3, 4.

et gaudium

Job xi. 2, 7. " dium hypocritæ ad instar puncti : si ascenderit
 " usque ad cælum superbia ejus, et caput ejus nubes
 " tetigerit, quasi sterquilinum in fine perdetur."

Hoveden,
 III. a. 22.

Hoveden,
 III. a. 11,
 much
 shorter.

Interim uxor Philippi regis Franciæ peperit filium
 suum primogenitum, tertio nonas Septembris, die Jovis,
 et vocatum est nomen ejus Lodowicus.

Birth of
 Lewis of
 fo. 121 v.
 France,
 Sept. 2.

Rex vero Angliæ frequenter misit nuncios suos ad re-
 vocandum Ricardum filium suum, promisitque consensu-
 rum omnibus quæ juste peterentur ab eo. His igitur
 sermonibus prædictus Ricardus respondit se pariturum.
 Et simulans se pacifice velle redire ad patrem suum,
 transitum fecit per Chinonem, ubi thesauri patris sui
 reconditi fuerant. Et invito Stephano Tirconensi,¹ qui
 illos custodivit, omnes thesauros patris sui, quos ibi
 repererat, asportavit, et in Pictaviam profectus, munivit
 castella sua, et ad patrem suum venire noluit. Tamen
 rex pater suus ad eum nuncios suos frequenter mittere
 non cessabat, donec eum adducerent. Et cum ad eum
 venisset, in omnibus adquevit patri suo; et poenituit
 eum se consensisse pravorum consiliis, qui nitebantur
 seminare discordiam inter ipsum et patrem suum. Sed
 Dei providentia hoc factum fuisse creditur ad patris
 commodum, ne deciperetur simulata dilectione, nec
 festinaret eum promovere ad regni fastigia, sicut et
 alium fecerat, qui eum, ut supra diximus, injustis
 vexationibus ultra modum inquietavit. Reverso itaque
 filio ad patrem suum, ambo venerunt Andegavin, ubi
 filius patri suo obediens homo suus devenit, et in con-
 spectu multorum fidelitatem ei juravit contra omnes
 homines, tactis sacrosanctis evangelia. Juravit etiam
 quod a consilio suo non recederet. Quo facto, rex in
 Britanniam profectus est, et castellum quod vocatur
 Mons Relaxus, quod Hervicus de Leuns ceperat post
 mortem Gaufridi comitis, obsedit rex et cepit.

Richard pre-
 tending to
 submit to
 his father,
 seizes on the
 treasure at
 Chinon, and
 flies into
 Poictou.

Henry per-
 suades him
 to submit.

He does
 homage to
 his father
 at Angers.

Henry re-
 takes Mont-
 releis.

¹ Stephen of Turnham, afterwards seneschal of Anjou (?).

A.D. 1187.

*De Saladino et exercitu ejus.*Saladin in-
vades Pal-
estine.

Eodem anno Saladinus, cum immensa Turcorum suorum multitudine, ex occasione dissensionis quæ fuit inter regem Jerusalem et comitem de Tripes, venit in terram Jerusalem. Contra quem venerunt fratres Templi et Hospitalares cum copiosa plebis multitudine cum eo pugnaturi. Et facta est congressio inter eos; sed exercitus paganorum prævaluit, et Christiani in fugam conversi. Ex quibus, peccatis nostris exigentibus, multi et multi occisi sunt die illo, scilicet prima die Maii, sexaginta fratres Templi, et summus Magister Hospitalaris¹ domus cum fratribus domus suæ interfecti sunt. Saladinus igitur potitus victoria, castella, civitates et munitiones Christianorum cepit. Christiani vero de prælio illo evadentes Jerosolimam venerunt, et in magno timore ibidem remanserunt.

Hoveden,
362. a. 27.May 1.
He defeats
the Tem-
plars and
Hospitalers
at Nazareth.He takes
Tiberias,
July 3.

Saladinus autem regressus in terram suam, magnum congregavit exercitum, et die Veneris proxima post festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, cum octoginta milibus militum et amplius, terram Jerosolimitanam ingressus est, et Tabariam cepit. Quod cum nunciatum esset Gwidoni de Lezinan regi Jerusalem, assumpsit secum Templarios et Hospitalarios et populum quem habere potuit, et comitem de Tripes, qui paulo ante pacem fecerat cum eo, et processit versus Tabariam per unam dietam ad bellandum. Et facto congressu cum Saladino, Christianorum exercitus devictus, et rex Jerusalem captus est, et Crux Christi, in qua nos redemit, capta est, et fere omnes Christiani interfecti sunt. Pauci quidem de illo miserabili campo evaserunt; unde cives Januenses in hac forma scripserunt Urbano summo pontifici.

Hoveden,
362. a. 32.
Abstract of
the follow-
ing letter.Battle of
Hittin
(July 4); the
True Cross
and king
Guy are
taken.

fo. 122 r.

¹ Roger de Moulins.

*"Epistola Januensium ad Urbanum papam."*¹

Abstract
given in
Hoveden,
vol. a. 36.

"Piissimo patri et domino Urbano, Dei gratia Sanctæ et A.D. 1187.
"Universalis Ecclesiæ pastori dignissimo, Januenses de com- The Genoese
"muni debitam in omnibus cum subiectione reverentiam. Ex write to the
"celebris famæ relatu, sanctissime pater, et lugubri civis pope the
"nostri de ultramarinis partibus redeuntis narratione, didici- history of
"mus judicia quæ operatus est Deus in partibus illis his the invasion
"diebus, et quomodo provocatus peccatis nostris ante tempus of Palestine.
"quodammodo visus est judicare orbem terræ in æquitate,
"sed misericordiæ Suse oblitus. Dum enim rex Babylonis
"Saladinus cum octoginta millibus militum et eo amplius,
"insequenti die Veneris post festum Apostolorum Petri et July 3, Sala-
"Pauli, terram Jerusalem intrasset, et Tabariam vi cepisset, din took
"excepta castri munitione, qua se domina² loci cum paucis Tiberias all
"militibus receperat, nunciata sunt regi quæ acciderant. Et but the cita-
"cum ipsi regi potius assideret de muniendis civitatibus et del.
"locis, quam adeo subito se discrimini pugnæ objicere, tan-
"dem de consilio comitis de Tripes, qui cum eo nuper fœdera The count
"pacis inierat, ad instantiam Miliani, cum lacrymis domino of Tripoli
"rum de Tabernia, qui ad succursum matris anhelabant, rex guides the
"processit versus Taberniam. Deinceps comes, et dux et army into a
"prævious itineris, totum exercitum in eminentem et saxosum dangerous
"locum constituit. Ibi vero imminetibus hostibus undique, place, where
"necessitate compulsus rex de baronum consilio bellum the king is
"mittere dignum duxit, et ad eorum instantiam magistro et forced to
"militibus Templi primos ictus concessit; dispositis per acies fight.
"certis militibus ordine suo ad pugnandum, et comiti Tripo-
"litano cæterisque capitibus bellatorum vexillis traditis.
"Itaque militia Templi, sicut leo fortis in hostes concurrens,
"partem stravit, partem fugavit. Cæteri vero, regio spreto July 4.
"mandato, nec processerunt ad pugnam nec ullum eis præsta- The Tem-
"vere succursum, unde milites Templi retenti et truciati plars periah,
"sunt. Postmodum Christianorum exercitum laborioso itinere and the
"confectum, et nimio calore prægravatum, aqua omnino army is
"ficiente, Parthi igne circumdederunt. Tunc sex ex militibus hemmed in.
"regis, scilicet Baldwinus de Fortuna, et Raulfus Buceus

¹ This is one of the few letters of which the sense only is given in Hoveden, whilst our Chronicle has the text in full. It is given in full also in the Continuation of William of Tyre, MS. Br. Mus., Reg. 14 C.

10. See Memorials of Rich. I., vol. i., præf. lxxiii.

² domina] Echiva, wife of the count of Tripoli. See above, vol. i., p. 359, note ¹.

A.D. 1187. " et Laodicinas de Tabaria,¹ cum aliis tribus sociis, diabolico *Abbasat given in*
Certain " spiritu arrepti ad Saladinum confugerunt, et sponte Sara- *Novemb.,*
writers " ceni facti de omni esse et proposito atque continentia *322. a. 52.*
desert to " Christianorum eum instruxerunt. Saladinus vero, quia de
Saladin, and " discrimine praelii anxius dubitabat, resumpsit vires, et cum
betray the " tubis et multitudine bellatorum infinita, in Christianos, qui
state of the " propter loca et saxosa et invia pugnare non poterant, assul-
Christians. " tum fecerunt, et eos omni genere pugnandi Saladinus im-

Gay and the " pugnavit, et expugnavit. Tandem Tekedinus Saladini nepos,
True Cross " Gwidonem regem Jerusalem fugam arripientem, et crucea
are taken. " ligni Dominici cepit. Ceteri omnes fere contracti, capti,
 " trucidati et vinculis mancipati sunt ab ipsis Parthis, pro
 " dolor! in campo omnino superati. Statim vero Saladinus
 " militiam Templi et Hospitalis milites segregari fecit ab aliis,
 " et coram se decapitari; et ipse principem Reinaldum de
 " Castellione² propria manu interfecit. Dein civitatem Acon *Reinald's*
 " cepit,³ et adjacentia loca et munitiones fere omnes de par- *abandoned*
 " tibus illis. Syri qui in partibus illis remanserant, sicut *under*
 " ferebatur, nuncios de reddenda civitate Saladino mittebant.
 " In Tyro omnes qui de Acon confugerant, et multitudo pro-
 " fugorum Christianorum se recepit. Ascalona bene victuali-
 " bus et bellatoribus inclitis est bene munita; et Antiochia et
 " Margatum, cum tota fere terra principis, sunt bene munita.
 " Terra Tripolitani principis adhuc salva erat. Super his
 " itaque tam gravissimis et inopinatis malis, quae peccatis exi-
 " gentibus justo Dei iudicio emeruerant, clementissime pater,
 " tanquam summus pontifex, Christi vicarius, pius papa et
 " dominus, super gregem Dominicum vobis commissum sancta
 " cogitatione intendite, deliberatione prudentissima providete,
 " et operis efficacia magnanimitate procedite. Convenite gentes
 " et adunate populos, et ad recuperanda sancta sanctorum, et
 " ad recuperandam terram illam beatissimam ubi steterunt
 " pedes Domini, ubi radiant officinae redemptionis nostrae et
 " Christianae fidei sacramenta, cor in humerum date. Non Pa. lxxvii. a.
 " enim obliviscetur misereri Deus, Qui in ira continet miseri-
 " cordias Suas, quia prope est Dominus invocantibus Eum in Pa. cxlv. 12.
 " veritate. Nos sane, licet de possessionibus cum multa san-

Gay and the
True Cross
are taken.

So. 122 v.
Reinald of
Castellione
murdered
by Saladin.
Acon is
taken; Acon-
lon, Antioch,
and Tripoli
are still safe.

The Governor
of Acon the
pope to use
his influ-
ence.

Reinald's
abandoned
under.

¹ These three names are given by the Hospitallers in their circular letter thus:—"Baldouinus de Far-
 " mor, et Bachaberbocus de Ta-
 " baria, et Leisina." Ansbart, ed.
 Dobrowsky, p. 2. "Baldouinus de
 " Fatimor, et Bachibocus de Tha-
 " baria, et Leisina." Chron. Rei-

chersperg, ed. J. P. de Ledewig,
 Script. ii. 322.

² Prince of Kerak

³ Acon was taken on the 9th of
 July, and the news contained in
 this letter must have been sent off
 almost immediately.

"guinis partis nostrorum majorum effusione, per novos do- A.D. 1187.
 "minos qui nec Deum timere videbantur nec homines vereri,
 "in partibus illis injuriam patimur, nec ullam adhuc inde
 "potuerimus consequi rationem, sicut ad sanctitatis vestre
 "notitiam pervenisse non dubitamus, mandatis vestris, tan-
 "quam patris et domini, nulla ratione deerimus. Valeat in
 "Domino sanctitas vestra, pie pater.

"*Epistola fratris Terrici, magni præceptoris Templi Jerusalem.*¹ July.

Hoveden,
 302. a. 14.

"Frater Terricus,² pauperrimæ domus Templi dictus mag- Terricus,
 "nus præceptor, omnisque fratrum pauperrimus et fere omnino the great
 "adnihilatus conventus, universis præceptoribus et fratribus preceptor of
 "Templi ad quos litteræ istæ pervenerint, salutem, et in Eum the Temple,
 "suspirare Onjus pulchritudinem Sol et Luna mirantur. Quot informs his
 "quantisque calamitatibus ira Dei, nostris peccatis exigenti- brethren
 "bus, nos in præsentī flagellari permisit, nec litteris nec that Saladin
 "voce flebili, proh dolor! explicare valemus. Turci enim took Tibe-
 "immensam gentium suarum multitudinem congregantes, rias (July 3).
 "Christianorum nostrorum fines acriter invadere coeperunt.
 "Contra quos nos nostrarum gentium phalanges coadunantes,
 "infra octavas beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli³ cum
 "eis congredi, et versus Tiberiadem, quam violenter, castro and routed
 "solo relicto, ceperant, iter arripere præsumpsimus. Cumque the Chris-
 "nos in scopulis pessimis impulissent, nos ita acriter expug- tian forces,
 "naverunt, quod cruce sancta et rege nostro captis, et omni killing two
 "multitudine nostra interfecta, et fratrum nostrorum, ut in hundred
 "veritate credimus, eodem die ducentis triginta decollatis, and thirty
 "exceptis illis sexaginta qui prima die Maii interempti sunt, knights.
 "vix dominus Tripolis et dominus Reginaldus Sidonis, domi- fo. 123 r.

¹ This letter occurs also in R. de Diceto, 635; Chron. Reichersperg, 320; in the Continuation of William of Tyre, MS. Reg. 14, C. 10, lib. ii. cap. 6.

² *Terricus*] Terrencius, B. He is said to have succeeded Arnold, the Grand Master who died in 1184, and to have been the Grand Master who was taken at the battle of Hittin. *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, &c. R. de Diceto, 639. Gerard de Bidesford, however, is mentioned by the author of the Itinerarium (p. 6) as the Grand

Master in May 1187, and as taken at Hittin (p. 16); so that Terric must have resigned his office before this time. As in this letter he mentions his escape from the battle of Hittin, it is hardly likely that he was Grand Master in July 1187; but it may be fairly doubted whether he ever held the office. He may have been deputy during the captivity of Gerard.

³ "v. scilicet et iiii. non. Julii," ins. R. de Diceto.

A.D. 1187. " nusque Ballovius¹ et nos, de illo miserabili campo evadere Hoveden, 362. a. 22.
 July. " potuimus. Deinde pagani Christianorum nostrorum san-
 Terriers, " guine debacchati, versus civitatem Acoon cum omni sua
 Balien, and " multitudinem venire non distulerunt. Quam violenter ca-
 the count " pientes totam terram fere capientes invaserunt, Jerusalem
 of Tripoli " et Aschalon, Tyro, Beryto,² nobis et Christianitati solis
 escaped. " adhuc relictis. Istas etiam civitates, omnibus earum fere
 Jerusalem, " civibus interfectis, nisi Divinum et vestrum præsto sit auxi-
 Ascalon, " lium, nullo modo retinere poterimus. Civitatem etiam Tyri
 Tyre, and " impresentiarum acriter obsidentes, violenter die noctuque
 Beirut only " expugnare non cessant. Et tanta est eorum copia, quod
 held out. " totam terræ faciem a Tyro usque Jerusalem, et usque ad
 " Gasam, velut formicos frequentes existentes cooperuerunt.
 " Nobis ergo et Christianitati Orientis ad præsens omnino
 " deperditæ, quantocius succurrere dignemini; ut per Domini
 " et vestræ fraternitatis eminentiam residuas civitates vestro
 " fulti adminiculo salvare possimus. Valete."

The Hospi- " Hospitalis quoque fratres eodem modo scripserunt
 tallers write " fratribus suis, exponentes eis rei eventum, et poscentes
 tura. " ab eis velocem succursum.³

Pope Urban " His auditis, dominus papa Urbanus plurimum con- Hoveden, 362. b. 27.
 III. dies of " tristatus, quod hæc in diebus suis accidissent, in gravem
 grief at Fer- " incidit infirmitatem; qua decoctus infra tertium diem
 rara, Oct. 29. " post festum Lucæ Evangelistæ migravit e sæculo apud
 Gregory " Ferrariam, xiii^o. kalendas Octobris.⁴ Cui successit, un-
 VIII. suc- " decimo kalendas Octobris,⁴ Albertus cancellarius suus,
 cessus. " et vocatus est Gregorius octavus. Qui statim fecit
 " Octovianum cancellarium suum, qui, ut supra dictum,
 " missus fuerat in Angliam cum Hugone de Nunant a
 " papa Urbano.

Interim magister Petrus Blesensis scripsit Henrico regi Angliæ;

¹ Ballovius] Balien of Itelin.

² Beryto] Berriten, B. The date of the letter may be guessed, Berytus being mentioned as yet in the hands of the Christians. It must have been written before the news of the

capture of Berytus on the 6th of August reached the writer.

³ The letters of the Hospitalars are given in Ansbart, ed. Dobrowsky, pp. 2 &c.

⁴ A mistake for November.

" *Epistola magistri Petri Blesensis ad Henricum regem Angliæ.*¹ A.D. 1187.

" Andivimus quomodo Jerusalem destructa est, et quomodo
 " crux in qua Christus nos redemit capta est. Rex Jerusalem
 " in Babylonem ductus est. Omnes civitates et munitiones
 " præter Ascalonem et Tripolim captæ sunt; et adhuc utrum
 " Jerusalem poterit canibus immundis resistere, dubitatur.
 " Dominus rex Siciliæ, auditis his rumoribus, statim se cilicio
 " induit, et per quatuor dies plangens, et a facie hominum se
 " abscondens, illi terræ succurrere pro posse suo anxie et
 " constanti devotione promisit. Cardinales autem de assensu
 " domini papæ inter se firmiter promiserunt, quod abjectis
 " omnibus divitiis et deliciis, prædicabunt Crucem Christi,
 " non solum verbo, sed opere, et exemplo, et euntes mendi-
 " cando accipiant crucem primi, et prædicabunt; et præcedent
 " alios in terram Jerusalem. Statuerunt etiam de assensu
 " domini papæ, firmissimas treugas inter omnes principes
 " Christianitatis usque ad septennium, ita quod quicumque
 " guerram contra Christianum medio tempore moverit, male-
 " dictioni Dei et domini papæ, atque excommunicationi omnium
 " prælatorum universalis ecclesiæ subiacebit. Firmiter etiam
 " inter se promiserunt, quod de cætero nulla munera recipient
 " ab aliquo, qui causam habeat in curia, sed ea tantum reci-
 " pere poterunt quæ fuerint pro eorum necessitate et susten-
 " tatione donata vel missa, et non ascendent in equum quam-
 " diu terra in qua steterunt pedes Domini fuerit sub pedibus
 " inimici. Valete."

Abstract
 given in
 Hoveden,
 322. b. 41.

About
 September.
 Peter of
 Blois in-
 forms Henry
 II. of the
 captivity of
 Guy and the
 conquest of
 Palestine.
 The king of
 Sicily is in
 sackcloth;
 and the car-
 dinals are
 going to
 turn men-
 dicants.

A truce of
 seven years
 is enjoined
 on all Chris-
 tian princes.

fo. 123 v.

" *Epistola Gregorii papæ octavi.*²

October 28.

Hoveden,
 322. b. 1.

" Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis Christi
 " fidelibus ad quos litteræ istæ pervenerint, salutem et apo-
 " stolicam benedictionem. Audita tremendi severitate iudicii
 " quam super terram Jerusalem Divina manus exercuit, toto
 " sumus nos et fratres nostri horrore confusi, tantisque afflicti
 " doloribus, ut non facile nobis occurreret, quid agere, vel
 " quid facere debeamus, nisi quod psalmista deplorat et dicit:
 " 'Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem Tuam, etc.' Ex
 " occasione quippe dissensionis, quæ malitia hominum nuper

Gregory
 VIII. de-
 clares him-
 self horrified
 at the news
 from the
 East.

Pa. lxxx. 1.

¹ This letter is given in Dr. Gies's edition of the letters of Peter of Blois, Ep. 224. | ² This letter is given also by William of Newburgh, iii. 21.

A.B. 1181.
October 21.
He is made
over the law
of the Pope
Clement, the
captain of
the king,
and the
master of
the knights.

in terra ex suggestione diaboli facta est, accessit Saladinus Hama,
cum multitudine armatorum ad partes illas. Et occurren-
tes rege et episcopis, Templariis et Hospitalariis, heremi-
bus et mililibus cum populo terre, et cruce Dominica, per
quam ex inopia et fide Passionis Christi, Qui pro peccatis et
genus humanum redemit in ea, certum solebat esse tutamen,
et contra paganorum incursum desiderata defensio, facta est
congressio inter eos. Et superata parte nostrorum, capta
est Crux Dominica, trucidati episcopi, captus est rex, et
universi fere aut occisi gladio aut hostilibus manibus de-
probrati, ita ut paucissimi per fugam elapsi sint; ipsi
quoque Templarii et Hospitalares in ejus oculis decollati
sunt. Superata itaque exercitu, qualiter subsequenter inve-
nerint et repererint universam, ita ut non nisi pauca loca
resmanere dicantur, que non in eorum devenissent potes-
tatem, non credimus litteris nostris explicandum. Nos
autem, licet cum propheta dicere habeamus, 'Quis det capiti
' meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrymarum, et plarabo
' nocte et die interfectos populi mei,' non tamen adeo
dicere debemus ut in diffidentiam incidamus, et creda-
mus Deum in populo suo iratum, ut quod communium
faciente multitudine peccatorum fieri permittit iratus, nec
nisi per misericordiam penitentium placatus alleviat, et per
lacrimationem et fletum exultationem inducat. Quisquis
sane in tanta legendi materia, si non corpore, corde non
legit, non tantum fidei Christianam, que cum manibus de-
mentibus docet esse dolendam; sed ipsius etiam humanitatis
nostram oblitus, esse ex ipso periculi magnitudine ac feritate
horribila, Christianum sanguinem sitiens, ac totam suam
in hoc opposante virtutem, ut profanare sancta, et tunc
Isti valent auferre de terra, quod nos tacemus, discretus
quisque valet estimare. Sane cum propheta toto studio
prius laboraverunt, postmodum spontali et sequaces eorum,
ut Divinus cultus esset in terra illa, et ad omnia climata
mundi ex ea deflueret; immo, quod maximum est et in-
effabile, Deus Qui voluit incarnari, per Quem facta sunt
morsus, per ineffabilem sapientiam, et incomprehensibilem
misericordiam suam, per infinitum curam, curam,
sciam, crucem et mortem et resurrectionem, nostrum salu-
tem voluit illi operari; juxta quod dicitur, 'Qui operatus est
' est salutem in medio terre,' per Suorum dignatus sit
ad hoc laborare; nec lingua dicere, nec sensus cogitare
potest, quantum nobis et universo dolendum sit populo
Christiano, quod id nunc perperam sit terra illa, quod sub
vetri populo legitur partitum. Nos autem credere non
debemus quod ex injuria Judicis sciantis, sed ex iniqui-

A.B. 1181.

- Hoveden, 1187.
 sec. b. 45.
 Deut. xxxii.
 30.
- Num. xiii. 33.
- Hosea iv. 1.
- A.D. 1187.
 Oct. 23.
- The capture of Edessa ought to have been a warning.
- Exertions must be made to save what is left.
- Advantage should be taken of the season of repentance.
- “tate potius populi delinquentis, pervenerint; cum legamus,
 “quod quando populus convertebatur ad Dominum, perse-
 “quebatur unus mille, et duo fugabant decem millia; immo
 “ipso populo quiescente, exercitum Sennacherib angelica
 “manu consumptum. Sed terra illa devoravit habitatores
 “suos, et nec diu quietum statum, nec transgressores legis
 “Divinæ potuit retinere, doctrinam et exemplum tribuens illis
 “qui ad coelestem Jerusalem intenderent; quod non potest
 “ad eam, nisi per exercitium boni operis et tentationes pluri-
 “mas pervenire. Potuerunt autem jam pridem ista timeri,
 “quando Arroasia,¹ et alia terra transiit in potestatem paga-
 “norum; et fuisset bene provisum, si populus qui remanserat
 “ad poenitentiam rediisset, et Deum Quem prævaricatione
 “offenderat conversione placasset. Nec enim subito venit ira
 “Ejus, sed ultionem differt et tempus tribuit poenitendi;
 “tandem vero, quia in misericordia iudicium non amittit, et
 “vindictam Suam ad poenam transgredientium, et cautelam
 “salvandorum exercet. Porro nos, qui in tanta terræ illius
 “contritione, non solum peccatum habitatorum ejus, sed et
 “nostrum et totius populi Christiani, debemus attendere; et
 “vereri, ne quod reliquum est terræ illius depereat, et in
 “alias etiam potestas eorum desæviat regiones: cum ex omni-
 “bus partibus inter reges et principes, civitates et civitates,
 “dissensiones audiamus et scandala, et lugere cum propheta
 “et dicere valeamus, ‘Non est veritas nec scientia Dei in
 “terra. Mendacium, homicidium et adulterium inundaverunt,
 “et sanguis sanguinem tetigit.’ Unde hoc universis et
 “cogitandum imminet et agendum, ut peccata nostra cas-
 “tigazione voluntaria emendantes, per poenitentiam et opera
 “pietatis convertamur ad Dominum Deum nostrum: et in
 “nobis, primo quod male gessimus, emendemus, et deinde
 “feritatem et malitiam hostium attendamus. Et quod illi
 “contra Deum tentare non timent, nos pro Deo agere nulla-
 “tenus hæsitamus. Cogitate, filii, qualiter in hunc mundum
 “venistis, et qualiter exituri estis, et qualiter transeant
 “universa, et pariter transeatis et vos, et poenitendi et bene
 “agendi tempus, quantum spectat ad vos, cum gratiarum
 “actione recipite, et date vestra, date post vos ipsos, non in

¹ Edessa (Boha, Orfa), here called Arroasia, a name derived from its ancient Greek title of Callirrhoe, was taken in 1143. It is probable that the name of Rages in Media is so often given wrongly to Edessa in

the medieval chronicles, owing to the misunderstanding of the name Arroasia or Rohesia. The true Rages is El Rey, near Teheran, of course very far east of Edessa.

- A.D. 1187. " exterminium, sed in conversationem, Ei a Quo et vos et omnia ^{Hovaden.}
 October 29. " vestra recepistis: quia non estis ex vobis nec quicquam a ^{262. a. 12.}
 Treasure " vobis habetis, qui nec culicem unum potestis facere super
 must be " terram. Nec dicimus dimittere, sed præmittere in coeleste
 laid up in " horreum, quæ habetis, et deponite super Eum, apud Quem
 heaven. " serugo ea non demolitur aut tinea, nec fures effodiunt et ^{S. Matt. vi.}
 " furantur; laborantes ad redemptionem terræ illius, in qua ^{29.}
 " pro salute nostra Veritas de terra orta est, et pro nobis ^{Pa. lxxv. 11.}
 " crucis patibulum sustinere non desepxit. Et nolite ad hoc
 " lucrum vel gloriam temporalem attendere, sed voluntatem
 " Dei Qui pro fratribus animas in Seipso docuit esse ponen-
 " das, et Ei vestras commendate divitias, quas sive volentes,
 " sive nolentes, nescitis tandem quibus, hæredibus sitis relic-
 " turi. Non est equidem novum, quod terra illa iudicio
 fo. 124 v. " Divino percutitur, sed nec insolitum ut flagellata et casti-
 " gata misericordiam consequatur. Poterat quidem Dominus
 " sola eam voluntate servare, sed non habemus Ei dicere
 The example " cur ita fecerit; voluit enim forsitan experiri, et in notitiam
 of the Mac- " ducere aliorum, si aliquis sit intelligens aut requirens Deum
 cabees " qui oblatum sibi penitentis tempus hilariter amplectatur,
 should be " et animam ponendo pro fratribus consummetur in brevi, et ^{Wisd. iv. 12.}
 followed. " compleat tempora multa. Attendite qualiter Machabesi, zelo
 " Divinæ legis accensi, pro fratribus liberandis extrema quæ-
 " que pericula sint experti, et non solum substantias sed et
 " personas pro fratrum docuerint salute ponendas, et hortantes
 " seipsos atque dicentes, 'Accingimini, et estote filii potentes; 1 Mac. iii.
 " quoniam melius est mori in bello quam videre mala gentis ^{32.}
 " nostræ et sanctorum.' Et quidem illi sub una constituti
 " lege fecerunt, vos per Incarnationem Domini nostri Jesu
 " Christi, ad lucem veritatis adducti, et multis exemplis in-
 " structi sanctorum, sine trepidatione aliqua faciatis, et non
 " timeatis dare terrena et pauca et breviter duratura, qui-
 " bus illa bona promissa sunt et reposita, 'quæ nec oculus 1 Cor. ii. 9.
 " vidit nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascenderunt;
 " et quibus dicit apostolus quod 'non sunt condignæ pas- ^{Rom. viii.}
 " siones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur ^{12.}
 " in nobis.' Eis autem qui corde contrito et humiliato
 " spiritu, itineris hujus laborem assumpserint, et in peni-
 " tentia peccatorum decesserint et in fide recta; plenam
 " criminum suorum indulgentiam et vitam pollicemur æter-
 " nam. Sive autem supervixerint, sive mortui fuerint, de
 " omnibus peccatis suis, de quibus rectam confessionem fece-
 " rint, impositæ satisfactionis relaxationem de Omnipotentis
 " misericordia et apostolorum Petri et Pauli, auctoritate nos-
 " tra noverint habituros. Bona quoque ipsorum ex quo crucem
 " susceperint, cum suis famulis, sub sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ,

Penary
indulgence
and other
privileges
promised.

Hoveden, 204. a. 46. " necnon archiepiscoporum et episcoporum atque aliorum A.D. 1187: October 22. " praelatorum [ecclesiarum] Dei protectione consistent, et nullam The goods of crusaders are to be under protection of the holy sec. " de iis quæ in susceptione crucis quiete possederunt, donec " de ipsorum reditu vel obitu certissime cognoscatur, sus- " tineant questionem: sed bona eorum integra interim ma- " neant et quietæ. Ad dandas quoque usuras si tenentur " alicui, non cogantur; nec eant in vestibus pretiosis, et cum " canibus sive avibus, aut aliis quæ ostentationi potius quam " necessariis videantur usibus deservire: sed in modesto ap- " paratu et habitu, in quo penitentiam potius agere quam " inanem affectare gloriam videantur."

" Item epistola ejusdem Gregorii papæ.¹

Hoveden, 204. b. 1. " Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis ad October 22. " quos litteræ istæ pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam bene- Gregory VIII. ord- " dictionem. Nunquam melius Superni Judicis ira placatur, dains a fast every Fri- " quam cum ex mandato Ipsius carnalia in nobis desideria ex- day for five " stinguuntur. Proinde quia Jerosolimitanæ terræ discrimen, years on " quod irruentibus Saracenis nuper evenit, ex peccato maxime lenten fare; " habitatorum terræ, ac totius populi Christiani, accidisse non " dubitamus; nos de fratrum nostrorum communi consilio, " multis episcopis approbantibus, statuimus, ut omnes usque and absti- " ad quinquennium saltem per omnes sextas ferias, in cibo nence from " Quadagesimali jejurent; et missa ubi cantanda fuerit ad most on " nonam cantetur; quod ab Adventu Domini usque ad Natale Wednesday " Domini statuimus observandum. Feria vero quarta et sab- and Satur- " bato omnes indifferenter bene valentes a carnibus abstine- days. " bunt. Nos autem et fratres nostri in secunda quoque feria fo. 125 r. " nobis et familiis nostris esum carnis interdiciamus, nisi forte The families " aut infirmitas aut magna sollemnitas vel alia evidens causa of the pope " visa fuerit impedire; sperantes quod sic nobis ignoscet and card- " Dominus, et relinquet post Se benedictionem. Hoc igitur nals fast on " adeo statuimus observandum, ut quicumque transgressor Mondays " exstiterit quasi prævaricator Quadagesimalis jejunii habeat also. " tur. Datum Ferrariæ."²

Joel II. 14. " Dominus, et relinquet post Se benedictionem. Hoc igitur " adeo statuimus observandum, ut quicumque transgressor " exstiterit quasi prævaricator Quadagesimalis jejunii habeat " tur. Datum Ferrariæ."³

Hoveden, 204. b. 19. Audientes igitur principes terræ mandata et admonitiones Gregorii papæ, viribus totis anhelabant ad liberationem terræ Jerusalem.

Hoveden, 205. a. 24. Sed præfatus Gregorius vix per duos menses³ in Dec. 17.

¹ Hoveden has the date, "Datum
" Ferrariæ, iv. kal. Novembria, in-
" dictione sexta."

² Hoveden has the date, "iv.
" kal. Novembria."

³ From Oct. 21 to Dec. 17.

A.D. 1187. papatu moram faciens, gravem incidit infirmitatem. Hoveden, 266. a. 26.
Death of Gregory VIII. Qua vehementer decoctus vitam finivit, universæ carnis
Election of Clement III. (Dec. 19.) viam ingressus apud Pyse, et ibi sepultus est. Cui successit Paulus Prænestinus episcopus, et vocatum est nomen ejus Clemens papa tertius.¹

Capta est Jerusalem a Saladino.

Siege of Jerusalem;
(Sept. 20.)

surrender
(Oct. 3).

Saladin threatens the count of Tripoli, who promises to submit.

Interim Saladinus rex Babylonis, capta Cruce Dominica, et capto rege Jerusalem, et omnibus tam Templariis quam Hospitalariis, et cæteris militibus et potentioribus terræ vel captis vel interfectis; et captis civitatibus et munitionibus fere omnibus terræ Jerusalem, obsedit Jerusalem; et infra paucos dies habitantes in ea ad deditionem coacti, reddiderunt eam Saladino et Turrim David. Et ipse Saladinus omnes qui in civitate manere volebant fecit sibi tributarios, et Syris tradidit custodiam Sepulchri usque ad quartum post festum Sancti Michaelis; et decem Hospitalariis tradidit custodiam infirmorum. Tunc adimpletum est quod Jeremias prophetavit de Jerusalem dicens: "Princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo; plorans Lam. i. 1, 2. ploravit in nocte, et lacrymæ ejus in maxillis ejus. "Non est qui consoletur eam ex omnibus caris ejus. "Omnes amici ejus spreverunt eam, et facti sunt ei inimici. Omnes persecutores ejus apprehenderunt [eam] Lam. i. 3. inter angustias." Et alius propheta: "Deus, venerunt Ps. lxxix. 1. gentes in hæreditatem Tuam, polluerunt templum "sanctum Tuum," etc. Deinde Saladinus, expletis omnibus ad voluntatem suam, mandavit comiti Tripolitano, quod [nisi] fidem quam ei promiserat super pactis inter eos contractis observare voluisset, ipse terram suam devastaret. Comes vero remandavit, ei se bona fide observaturum omnia quæ ei promiserat, et statuit ei diem ad perficiendum ea. Et interim con-

¹ Paul Scolari, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, 1180-87.

vocatis militibus et hominibus suis, comes Tripolitanus conabatur modis omnibus allicere animos eorum ad consentiendum voluntati suæ; et ut ipsi facerent sicut ipse facturus esset. Ipsi vero Christianæ fidei zelo accensi, quæsierunt inducias respondendi ei usque mane. Sciebant enim ipsum promisisse Saladino se et suos Christianam fidem relinquere et adhærere paganorum ritibus. Mane autem facto, cum omnes convenissent in prætorium prædicti comitis Tripolis, ipse comes, divino percussus iudicio, inventus est in lecto suo mortuus; et unusquisque reversus est in domum suam, gratias agens Deo, Qui salvat sperantes in Se.

A.D. 1187.
The vassals
of the count
hesitate to
obey.

Death of the
count of
Tripoli.

*Prima pugna contra Saladinum.*¹

Est autem sciendum quod eodem anno, scilicet anno ab Incarnatione Domini M^oC^oLXXX^oVII^o, ut supradictum est, Saladinus rex Babylonis venit in terram Jerusalem cum copiosa Turcorum multitudine. Et in prima die Maii, festo apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, die Veneris, pugnavit contra Christianos in foresta Safforia, ubi Christiani devicti sunt, et major pars eorum interfecti fuerunt. Itaque ibidem interempti sexaginta Templarii, cæteri autem fugerunt, de quibus multi capti et interempti fuerunt.

Battle in
the forest
of Safforia,
May 1.
1187.

*Secunda pugna.*²

Saladinus igitur potitus victoria, spolia interfectorum commilitonibus suis distribuit; et mittens ad cæteros paganorum principes, magnum congregavit exercitum.

Saladin col-
lects new
forces.

¹ This is the battle of Nazareth, described in the Itinerarium Regis Ricardi i. 2; Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ, c. 3, 4, 5; and in the Cont. Will. Tyr. ap. Martene et Durand, Amplissima Collectio, lib. xxiii. 4, 5.

² This is the battle of Hittin or Marescalcia, described in the Itinerarium, i. 5; Cont. W. Tyr. xxiii. 12, 13, 14; Chron. Terræ Sanctæ, c. 11, 12, &c. It was fought on Saturday, July 4.

A.D. 1187.
July 8.
Battle be-
tween
Mount
Tabor and
Tiberias.

Et in octavis Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, die Lunæ, pridie nonas Julii, iterum venit in terram Jerusalem, pugnaturus contra Christianos. Et Christiani, relictis paucis ad defensionem civitatum vel castellorum, profecti sunt contra Saladinum. Et pugnatum est acriter inter eos die illo, inter Montem Thabur et Taberiam. Et iterum digno Dei judicio, propter iniquitates suas et scelera, devicti sunt Christiani et interempti, ita quod paucissimi evadere potuerunt. Ibidem autem ducenti et triginta fratres Templi interempti sunt in conspectu Saladini. Et ipse Saladinus principem Ramundum¹ de Castellione propria manu decollavit.

Death of
Reginald of
Châtillon.

Rogerus de Mumbrai captus est.

Capture of
the Cross,
king Guy,
Roger Mow-
bray, and
William of
Montferrat.

Et in illo prælio, interfecto episcopo qui lignum Crucis, in qua Christus nos redemit, portavit, capta est Crux; et Gwido rex Jerusalem captus est; et multi cum eo, de quibus fuerunt Rogerus² de Mumbrai, et Willelmus Marchia.³ Hugo vero de Bello Campo ibi interfectus est.

Hugh Beau-
champ slain.

Saladin
captures the
fortresses of
Palestine.

Ita Saladinus potitus victoria, festinanter saisaviit in manu sua fere omnes civitates et castella et munitiones terræ Jerusalem, nullo resistente. Cepit igitur civitates et castella, quorum hæc sunt nomina.

Baruth, quæ est civitas et castellum.⁴

Acra, civitas et castellum.⁵

Tabaria, civitas et castellum.⁶

Nazaret, civitas.⁷

Japhes, civitas.⁸

Hoveden,
363, b. 19.

¹ Ramundus] Reginald of Châtillon.

² Rogerus] Robertus, B. See vol. i. p. 359. Hoveden has Roger, "de Mumbrai, quem in anno sequenti fratres Hospitalis et Templi redemerunt de manu paganorum." Hoved. 363. a. 45. See Monast. Angl. vi. 321.

³ William the Elder, marquis of Montferrat, father of Conrad.

⁴ Beirout was taken Aug. 6. Bohadin, 72.

⁵ Acre, July 9. Bohadin, 71.

⁶ Tiberias, July 5. Bohadin, 71.

⁷ Nazareth, between July 5 and July 20. Bohadin, 71.

⁸ Joppa was taken at the same time with Lydda and Ramlah. Chron. Terræ Sanctæ, c. 17.

Hoveden,
362. b. 20.

A.D. 1187.
List of the
fortresses
of Palestine.

Seziarie, civitas. ¹	
Sanctus Georgius, civitas. ²	
Sanctus Abraam, civitas.	
Beltleem, civitas. ³	
Sancta Maria de Caiphas, civitas. ⁴	
Gabebet, parvum,	} Castellum.
Gabebet, magnum, ⁵	
Saeta, ⁶ parvum,	
Castellum Novum,	
Saphet, ⁷	} Castrum.
Jaunay, ⁸	
Mons Tabur, ⁹	
Faba, ¹⁰	
Caaphar Mundel,	} Castella.
Cava Templi,	
Chiaccahu,	
Calenzun,	
Merle Templi,	
Castellum de Planis,	
Rames, ¹¹	
Turun-as-chivalers, ¹²	
Castellum Arnaldi,	
Castellum Burgunnium,	

¹ Caesarea, between July 5 and July 20. Boh. 71.

² Lydda, taken doubtless with Ramlah, between August and Sept. 4. Chr. T. S. c. 17.

³ Bethlehem, destroyed on the way to Jerusalem, in September. Chr. T. S. 24.

⁴ Haifa, between July 5 and July 20. Bohadin, 71.

⁵ Byblus, between July 30 and Aug. 6. Bohadin, 72; Chr. T. S. 21. I suppose that these Gabebeta represent Byblus and Jebleh, but possibly they may be Ibelin of the Hospitallers, Beit-Gebrin, and Ibelin, Jabneh.

⁶ Sidon, July 27. Bohadin, 72.

⁷ Safed was not taken until November, 1188. Bohadin, 88.

⁸ Jafna, Jabneh, between Aug. 6 and Sept. 4. Bohadin, 72.

⁹ Mount Tabor. Chron. T. S., 19.

¹⁰ Faba, La Fève, El Fuleh. Chron. T. S., 18.

¹¹ Ramlah, between Aug. 6 and Sept. 4. Bohadin, 72.

¹² Toron of the Knights Hospitallers, now Latroon, taken between Sept. 7 and Sept. 21. Castrum Arnaldi, Beit Nûba, was close to it, and fell, doubtless, at the same time.

A.D. 1187.
List of the
fortresses of
Palestine.

Tarenta,	}	Castella.
Blachonarda,		
Galacia,		
Gascros, ¹		
Darun, ²		
Sanctus Georgius in Berria,	}	Castella.
Ruget Cisterna, ³		
La Quarentayne,		
Castellum Sancti Petri,	}	Castellum.
Sanctus Lazarus de Bothania ⁴		
Mons Oliveti, abbatia et		
Vallis de Japhes, ⁵ abbatia et	}	Castellum.
Sancta Maria de Monte Sion,		

Omnēs civitates et castella quadraginta et i.

Tertis pugna apud Antiochiam.

Account of
a battle
between
Tartars and
Antioch.

Capitis itaque predictis civitatibus et castella, Saladinus eodem anno, ante festum Nativitatis Sancte Marie Genitricis Dei, magno congregato exercitu profectus est versus Antiochiam, et inter Sanctam Mariam de Turtam et Antiochiam prælium commisit jam tertio contra Christianos, et devicit eos.⁶ Et inde reversus Jerusalem elandit eam, et ad tantam coegit inopiam, quod paucitas illa virorum, qui de supradictis præliis evaserunt, concessit Saladinæ ad petitionem ipsius Saladinus, pro tregis habendis, usque ad medium mensis Maii ponere vexillum suum in summitate Turris David

¹ Gaza, between Sept. 7 and 21.

² Darun, taken between Aug. 6 and Sept. 4.

³ Ruget Cisterna, the fortress of Adhamat, taken immediately after the capture of Haifa in July. Chron. Ysaac Seneor, c. 25.

⁴ Bethany, destroyed on the way to Jerusalem, in September. Chron. T. S. 25.

⁵ The abbey of the Assumption in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, de-

stroyed on the march to Jerusalem. Chron. T. S. c. 25.

⁶ This seems to be a curious piece of confusion. Saladin certainly did not march upon Antioch until nearly a year after the capture of Jerusalem: and it was Antioch, not Jerusalem, for which the truce from September 1187 to May 1188 was concluded. See John Hugh Russell, c. 25, and Palestine, 75.

Howden,
vol. i. 24.

Hoveden,
365. a. 28.

Unde factum est quod multi Christianorum, qui acriter A.D. 1187.¹
restiterunt Saracenis, castella et casella quam plurima
reddiderunt Saladino.

Saladinus vero omnia quæ ceperat, tam civitates quam Saladin
castella dedit commilitonibus suis; retenta sibi tantum- divides the
modo regia dignitate et justitia. Dedit itaque filio fortresses
suo civitatem Acram, et totam circumjacentem provin- among his
ciam. Qui, maximo congregato exercitu, profectus est followers.
versus civitatem de Sur, volens obsidere eam. Cujus
adventu prænunciato, Conradus filius Willelmi Marchis
de Monte Ferraunt, qui eandem civitatem de Sur Tyre de-
bene munierat hominibus bellicosus et armis et victua- fended by
libus, præcepit eis, quos ipse ad custodiam civitatis Conrad of
dimiserat, quod ipsi armati latitassent infra domos Montferrat.
et latebras murorum, et quod mulieres quasi vagando
incederent per plateas et vicos civitatis, et quod omnes
portæ civitatis aperirentur. Et ipse exivit cum ducen-
tis militibus et aliis viris bellicosus, et abscondit se et
eos qui cum eo erant infra abrupta montium et caver-
nas terræ, expectantes adventum prædicti filii regis
Saladini.

*Quarta pugna, in qua filius Saladini captus est.*¹

Et paulo post prædictus filius Saladini, cum copiosa Battle of
Turcorum et aliorum virorum armatorum multitudine, Tyro.
venit usque ad civitatem de Sur, quæ etiam Tyrus
vocatur; et videns portas civitatis apertas, et neminem
intus præter mulieres incedentes per vicos et plateas
civitatis, æstimabat, quod audito adventu eorum omnes
fugissent, et præcepit Turcis suis intrare, et ipse cum
eis intravit. Supradictus vero Coenredus jam videns
quod ipsi civitatem Tyri intrassent, exivit de cavernis
in quibus ipse et sui latitabant; deinde profectus ad

¹ This is probably the battle at Tyre, on the 29th of December, 1187. See Itiner. R. Ricardi, i. 10.

A.D. 1187.
Battle of
Tyre.

civitatem Tyri, divisit socios suos per turmas, et confestim misit se et suos infra muros civitatis. Tunc cæteri qui infra domos et murorum latebras latitabant, emergerunt se cum armatis catervis. Et facto impetu in paganos, illos durissima morte affecerunt; et pagani velut oves ex improvise a lupis occupati stupefacti sunt. Coenredus vero, ex altera parte cum turmis armatis incedens, socios suos viriliter insistere hortatur, lethiferosque ictus ingeminant; et ipse et sui nullam pietatem habentes, paganos hoc modo inquietare non quieverunt donec, cunctis fere interfectis, filium Saladini caperent et retinerent.

Lamentatio de Terra Sancta Jerusalem.

Lamenta-
tion of
Bertr of
Orleans on
the loss of
Palestine.

1. Juxta threnos Jeremiæ
Vestræ lugent, Syon, viæ,
Quod sollemni non sit die,
Qui sepulcrum visitet,
Vel casum resuscitet,
Hujus prophetiæ.

Hoveden,
264. b. 25.

20. 126 v.

2. Contra quod propheta scribit,
Quod de Syon Lex exhibit,
Numquid ibi Lex peribit?
Nec habebit vindicem?
Ubi Christus calicem,
Passionis bibit.

3. Lignum Crucis,¹
Signum ducis,
Sequitur exercitus,
Quod non cessit,
Sed præcessit,
In vi Sancti Spiritus.

¹ Lignum Crucis, rep. B., as the burden of the verse.

videtur,
h. 44.

4. Ad portandum onus Tyri,
Non deberent fortes viri,
Suas vires experiri,
Qui certant quotidie,
Laudibus militiæ,
Gratis insigniri.
Lignum Crucis.
5. Sed ad pugnam congressuris,
Est athletis opus duris,
Non mollitis Epicuris.
Non enim qui pluribus,
Cutem curant [sumptibus]¹
Emunt Deum pluria.²
Lignum Crucis.
6. Novi rursum Philistæi,
Capta cruce, crucis rei,
Receperunt arcam Dei,
Arcam novi foederis,
Rem figuræ veteris,
Post figuram rei.
Lignum Crucis.
7. Sed cum constet quod sint isti
Præcursores Antichristi,
Quibus Christus vult resisti,
Quid qui non restiterit
Respondere poterit
In adventu Christi?
Lignum Crucis.
8. Crucis spretoꝝ crucem premit³
Ex qua fides pressa gemit,
In vindictam qui non fremit?

A.D. 1187.
Lamentation of
Barter of
Orleans on
the loss of
Palestine.

¹ *sumptibus*] om. B.
² *pluris*] *precibus*, Hoveden, contrary to the metre.

³ *premit*] *sprevit*, B., corr. from Hoveden.

A.D. 1187.
Lamenta-
tion of
Berter of
Orleans on
the loss of
Palestine.

Quanti fidem aestimat,
Tanti crucem redimat,
Siquem crux redemit.
Lignum Crucis.

Hoveden,
364. b. 48.

9. Quibus minus est argenti,
Si fideles sint inventi
Pura fide sint contenti;
Satis est Dominicum
Corpus ad viaticum
Crucem defendenti.
Lignum Crucis.

10 Christus tradens Se tortori
Mutuavit peccatori:
Si, peccator, non vis mori
Propter pro te mortuum,
Male solvis mutuum
Tuo Creatori.
Lignum Crucis.

11. Sane potest indignari
Cui declinas inclinari,
Dum in crucis torculari
Pro te factus Hostia
Tibi tendit brachia,
Nec vis amplexari.
Lignum Crucis.

12. Cum attendas ad quid tendo
Crucem tollas, et vovendo
Dicas, Illi me commendo,
Qui corpus et animam
Expendit in victimam
Pro me moriendo.
Lignum Crucis.

Eodem anno, scilicet ab Incarnatione Domini ^{Hoveden,}
M^{CC}LXXX^{VII}^o, nobilis ecclesia sedis pontificalis civi- ^{365. a. 25.}
tatis C[ic]estrie combusta est, cum tota fere civitate.

Chichester
burnt.

Eodem anno, exstitit per totam Angliam gravis et pestifera hominum et animalium et pecudum mortalitas.

A.D. 1187.
Plague and murrain.

Hoveden,
288. a. 27.

Eodem anno, comitissa Britanniae, post obitum Gaufridi filii regis Angliae, mariti sui, desponsata est Ranulfo juniore comiti Cestrise, per donationem regis Henrici.

Marriage of the countess of Brittany to Ranulf of Chester.

Hoveden,
288. a. 24.

Eodem anno, Ricardus comes Pictaviae, filius et haeres Henrici regis, crucem accepit Jerosolimam iturus.

Richard takes the Cross.

Hoveden,
288. a. 24.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M^oC^oLXXX^oVIII^o, qui est annus xxxiv^{us} regni regis Henrici secundi, idem Henricus rex, filius Matildis imperatricis, moram faciens in Normannia, tenuit festum sollemne die Nativitatis Dominicae, quae Sabbato evenit, apud Cadomum; et profectus inde versus Barbefluctum, volens inde transfretare in Angliam.

fo. 127 r.
Henry keeps Christmas of 1187-8 at Caen, and goes thence to Barfleur.

Hoveden,
288. b. 2.

Interim Philippus rex Francorum magnum congregavit exercitum, jactans impudenter se vastaturum Normanniam et caeteras terras regis Angliae transmarinas, si non reddidisset ei Gisorcium cum pertinentiis suis; vel si non fecisset Ricardum comitem Pictaviae, filium suum, accipere sibi in conjugem Alesiam sororem suam, filiam Lodowici regis Franciae patris sui.

A.D. 1188.
Philip renews his claim to Gisors, and insists on Richard's marriage.

Hoveden,
288. b. 2.

Audiens igitur has minas, rex Angliae reversus est in Normanniam usque Gisorcium: et accepto colloquio inter ipsum et praedictum regem Franciae inter Trye et Gisorcium, die Sanctae Agnetis virginis et martyris, duodecimo kalendas Februarii, convenerunt illuc cum archiepiscopis et episcopis et comitibus et baronibus regnorum suorum.

Henry II. and Philip II. hold a conference at Gisors, January 21.

Hoveden,
288. b. 10.

Interim archiepiscopus civitatis Tyri,¹ quae Romana lingua vocatur Sur, venit citra Alpes ad praedicandum

The archbishop of Tyre makes

¹ It is not certain whether this archbishop of Tyre was the famous William of Tyre the historian, as I have supposed in *Memorials of Richard I.*, vol. i. p. 31, or a suc-

cessor of his named Joseph. See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*. The MS. Continuation of W. Tyr., MS. Reg. 14, C. 10, calls him William. Lib. ii. c. 11.

A.D. 1188.
January 21.
peace be-
tween
Henry and
Phillip, and
both take
the Cross.

The diffe-
rent nations
choose
crosses of
various
colours.

et petendum auxilium ad defensionem Jerusalem. Qui cum audisset quod prædicti reges cepissent inter se colloquium, omnibus negotiis suis prætermisissis, venit ad colloquium illud; et repletus Spiritu sapientiæ et intellectus, miro modo prædicavit verbum Domini coram regibus et principibus, et convertit corda eorum ad crucem capiendam. Et qui prius hostes erant, illo prædicante et Deo cooperante, facti sunt amici in illa die, et crucem de manu prædicti archiepiscopi acceperunt. Et in eadem hora qua prædicti reges crucem susceperunt, apparuit supra eos signum crucis in celo. Quo viso tam a clericis quam a laicis, omnes gavisii sunt gaudio magno, et catervatim ruebant ad crucem capiendam. Prædicti vero reges in susceptione crucis ad distinguendam gentem suam, signum evidens providerunt. Nam rex Franciæ et gens sua cruces rubeas susceperunt, et rex Angliæ et gens sua cruces albas susceperunt; et comes Flandriæ cum gente sua cruces virides suscepit. Et sic unusquisque ad prævidendum sibi et itineri suo necessaria reversus est in regionem suam.

January.
In a council
at Le Mans
Henry II.
and his
bishops levy
the Saladin
tithe.

fo. 127 v°.

Henricus igitur rex Angliæ, post crucis susceptionem, venit usque Cenomannum, et ibi ordinatum est ab eo, in præsentia Ricardi filii ejus, comitis Pictaviæ, et Willelmi¹ Turonensis archiepiscopi, et Baldewini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, et Walteri Rothomagensis archiepiscopi; et in præsentia Johannis Ebroycensis episcopi,² et Radulfi Andegavensis³ episcopi, et R. Cenomanensis,⁴ et M.⁵ Namnetensis episcopi, et in præsentia Hugonis de Nunaunt Cestrensis electi, et Elisiardi Sagiensis electi; et in præsentia baronum Andegaviæ, Cenomanniæ, Turenorum; quod

“(I.) Unusquisque decimam reddituum et mobilium suorum
“ in eleemosynam dabit hoc anno, exceptis armis et equis, et

¹ Bartholomew was archbishop of
Tours at this time.

² John Fitz Luke.

³ Ralph de Beaumont.

⁴ Reginald.

⁵ Matthew.

Hoveden,
288. b. 10,
shorter.

Hoveden,
365. b. 20;
366. a. 14.

Hoveden,
202. b. 22.

" vestibus militum; exceptis similiter equis et libris et vestibus et vestimentis, et omnimoda capella clericorum, et lapidibus pretiosis tam clericorum quam laicorum.

A.D. 1188.
January.
Ordinance
of the Sala-
din tithe.

" (II.) Colligatur autem pecunia ista in singulis parochiis, presente presbytero parochie, et archipresbytero, et uno Templario et uno Hospitalario, et serviente domini regis et clerico regis, serviente baronis et clerico ejus et clerico episcopi; facta prius excommunicatione ab archiepiscopis, episcopis, archipresbyteris singulis in singulis parochiis super unumquemque, qui decimam prestatam legitime non dederit, sub presentia et conscientia illorum qui debent, sicut dictum est, interesse. Et si aliquis juxta conscientiam illorum minus dederit quam debuerit, eligentur de parochia quatuor vel sex viri legitimi, qui jurati dicant quantitatem illam quam ille debuisset dixisse; et tunc oportebit illum superaddere quod minus dedit.

" (III.) Clerici autem et milites, qui crucem acceperunt, nihil de decima ista dabunt, sed de proprio suo et domitico; et quicquid homines illorum debuerint ad opus illorum colligentur per supradictos, et eis totum reddetur.

" (IV.) Episcopi autem per litteras suas in singulis parochiis episcopatum suorum facient nunciari, et in die Natalis, et Sancti Stephani, et Sancti Johannis, ut unusquisque decimam prestatam infra Purificationem Beate Virginis penes se colligat, sequenti die et deinceps, illis presentibus qui dicti sunt, ad locum quo vocatus fuerit, unusquisque persolvat.

Hoveden,
202. b. 45.
Gervase,
1282.

" (I.) Præterea statutum est a Romano pontifice, quod quicumque clericus vel laicus crucem suscepit, ab omnibus peccatis de quibus penituerit et confessus fuerit, auctoritate Dei, et beatorum apostolorum Suorum Petri et Pauli, liberatus est et absolutus.

Further
ordinances
relative to
the crusade

" (II.) Dispositum est autem a regibus et archiepiscopis et episcopis, et aliis principibus terræ, quod omnes illi tam clerici quam laici, qui hoc iter non arripient, decimas reddituum, et mobilium suorum hujus anni, et omnium catalogorum suorum tam in auro quam in argento et omnibus aliis dabunt, exceptis vestibus et libris et vestimentis clericorum et capellanorum, et lapidibus pretiosis tam clericorum

¹ These statutes are given by | cll of Geddington; see also New-Gervase in his account of the Coun- | burgh, iii. 23.

A.D. 1188.
January.
Ordinances
of the cru-
sade.

"quam laicorum, et exceptis equis, et armis, et vestibus mili-
tum ad usum proprii corporis pertinentibus.

Howden,
285. b. 2.
Gervase,
1282.

"(III.) Dispositum est etiam quod omnes clerici, milites et
servientes qui hoc iter arripient, decimas terrarum suarum
et hominum suorum habeant, et pro se nihil dabunt.

"(IV.) Burgenses vero et rustici, qui sine licentia crucem
acceperint, nihilominus decimas dabunt.

"(V.) Dispositum est etiam quod nullus enormiter juret,
et quod nullus ludat ad aleas vel ad decios, et quod nullus
post proximum Pascha utatur verio, vel grisio, vel sabo-
lina, vel escarleta; et quod omnes contenti sint duobus
ferculis ex empto. Et quod nullus aliquam mulierem secum
ducat in peregrinatione, nisi aliquam forte lotricem peditem
de qua nulla habeatur suspicio. Et quod nullus habeat
pannos decisos vel laceatos.

fo. 126 r.

"(VI.) Dispositum est etiam quod quicumque clericus vel
laicus redditus suos ante susceptionem crucis invadiaverit,
exitus hujus anni integre habeat, et transacto anno cre-
ditor rehabeat. Ita quod fructus quos inde perceperit in
solutione debiti computentur, et debitum post susceptionem
crucis, quamdiu debitor erit in peregrinatione, non usuret.

"(VII.) Statutum est etiam, quod omnes clerici et laici,
qui in hac peregrinatione proficiantur, possunt licite in-
vadiare redditus suos, sive ecclesiasticos sive alios, a Pascha
cum iter arripuerint usque ad tres annos; ita quod credi-
tores quicquid de creditoribus contingat, fructus omnes
redditorum quos in vadio habebunt, a prædicto Pascha usque
ad tres annos integre percipiant.

"(VIII.) Dispositum est etiam, quod quicumque in peregrina-
tione decesserit, pecuniam suam quam secum in peregrina-
tione attulerit, ad sustentationem servientium suorum, et
ad auxilium terre Jerusalem, et ad sustentationem paupe-
rum dividet, juxta consilium discretorum virorum qui ad
hoc constituantur."

Measures
for collect-
ing the
tithe.

His igitur præordinatis, elegit viros ecclesiasticos et
alios, quos constituit per terras suas transmarinas ad
supradictas decimas sibi colligendas, de omnibus tam
clericis quam laicis qui crucem non acceperint.

Howden,
285. a. 22.

Regretted of
men to take
the cross.

Unde factum est, quod omnes ditiores terrarum sua-
rum, tam clerici quam laici, catervatim ruebant ad crucem
capiendam. Et sic peractis negotiis suis in terris suis
transmarinis, fecit naves suas congregari apud Depam;
et ipse illuc adveniens cum familia sua, mare intravit,

Henry goes
to Deppe,
Jan. 21.

Hoveden,
366. a. 23.

et in crastino applicuit in Anglia apud Wenchelese, Sabbato, tertio kalendas Februarii.

A.D. 1188.
Jan. 30.Henry lands
at Winchelsea.Hoveden,
366. a. 24.

Interim Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, qui ante regis adventum in Angliam venerat, adducens secum Hugonem de Nunant, electum Cestrensis ecclesiæ, consecravit eum in episcopum Cestrensem sive Coven-trensem.¹

Consecra-
tion of Hugh
of Nunant,
Jan. 31.Hoveden,
366. a. 25.

Rex vero statim postquam applicuit, convocatis archiepiscopo et episcopis et comitibus, et baronibus regni Angliæ, venit usque ad Gaidington,² ubi in publica audientia fecit recitari omnia suprascripta capitula quæ constituerat de cruce capienda. Quibus recitatis, Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Gillebertus Rovensis episcopus, vicarius ejus, mirifice prædicaverunt illo die coram rege et principibus suis verbum Dei et salutiferæ Crucis mysterium. Per illorum vero prædicationem multi tam clerici quam laici crucem acceperunt. Et rex consilio fidelium suorum elegit clericos et laicos de quorum prudentia confidebat, et misit eos per singulos comitatus, ad decimas colligendas secundum prædictam præordinationem in terris suis transmarinis constitutam. Sed de singulis urbibus totius Angliæ fecit eligere omnes ditiores, scilicet de Lundonia cc., et de Eboraco c., et de aliis urbibus secundum numerum et quantitatem eorum; et fecit omnes sibi præsentari diebus et locis statutis. De quibus cepit decimam reddituum et mobilium suorum secundum æstimationem virorum fidelium qui redditus et mobilia eorum noverrant. Si quos autem invenisset rebelles, statim fecit eos incarcerari, et in vinculis teneri, donec ultimum quadrantem persolverent. Similiter fecit de Judæis terræ suæ, unde inæstimabilem sibi adquisivit pecuniam.

Council of
Geddington.
(Feb. 11.)Archbishop
Baldwin
preaches the
crusade.The king
directs the
collection of
the tithe,
and makes
the assess-
ment.

fo. 128 vº.

¹ January 31, at Lambeth. Gerv. 1520.

² *Gaidington*] *Gaidigoem*, B. This

council at Geddington was held on the 11th of February. Gervase, 1522, &c.; Epp. Cantuar. 166.

A.D. 1188.
Insurrec-
tion against
Richard in
Poitou.

He devas-
tates the
country.

The count
of Toulouse
captures
some Polo-
tevin mer-
chants.

Richard
captures
Peter Seilun,
a minister of
the count.

Interim Armarus¹ comes de Engoliamo, et Gaufridus de Rancona,² et Gaufridus de Lexinnan,³ et multi alii de terra comitis Ricardi Pictavenses, insurrexerunt in eum, et terras ejus destruxerunt. At ille hæc contra terras illorum fortiter invasit, et castella et munitiones obsedit, cepit et infregit, villas combussit et prædas abduxit, arbores fructiferas extirpavit; et hæc et his similia in illos exercere non cessavit donec omnes suæ voluntati subjectos esse coegisset.

Dum hæc in Pictavia fierent, Ramundus comes de Sancto Ægidio cepit quosdam mercatores de terra comitis Ricardi Pictavensis, transeuntes per terram suam, de quibus plures privavit oculis et testiculis; quosdam vero illorum interfecit, et quosdam illorum incarceravit. Quod cum Ricardo comiti innotuit, magno exercitu congregato, invasit terram prædicti comitis de Sancto Ægidio, in manu potenti et brachio extento, et multa mala fecit ei et terræ suæ. Homines namque illius cepit et interfecit; et quosdam illorum incarceravit, inter quos fuit quidam familiaris prædicti comitis de Sancto Ægidio quem nominabant Petrum Seilun; per cujus consilium præfatus comes de Sancto Ægidio prænominatos mercatores ceperat, et magna damna sæpius fecerat comiti Ricardo. Hunc igitur comes Ricardus in arctiori loco et duriori fecit custodiri. Quem cum comes de Sancto Ægidio nullatenus redimere potuit, insidiabatur comiti Ricardo et suis. Unde factum est

Hoveden,
202. a. 48,
very briefly.

Hoveden,
202. a. 48,
very briefly.

¹ Aymar succeeded his brother Wulgrin Taillefer III., in a portion of the county in 1181, in opposition to the will of Richard, who supported the rights of Matilda, daughter of Wulgrin Taillefer, both in Angoumois and La Marche.

² Lord of Pons in Saintonge. See vol. i. p. 213.

³ Geoffrey of Laignan, the bro-

ther of Guy king of Jerusalem. His part in the struggle must have been soon over, as he joined his brother in Palestine in the course of the summer. Itiner. R. Ricardi, p. 26. Geoffrey was supported by Henry II. in his opposition to Richard, according to R. de Diceto, c. 639.

Hoveden, A.D. 1188.
 MS. b. 1. The count arrests two English knights returning from Compostella.
 very briefly. quod prædictus comes de Sancto Ægidio custodes suos
 posuit per civitates et castella ad comprehendendum
 si quos invenirent de familia regis Angliæ vel Ricardi
 filii sui comitis. Et factum est post paucos dies quod
 duo milites de domo et familia regis Angliæ, quo-
 rum nomina sunt hæc, Robertus Puer et Radulfus
 Fraser, transitum facerent per terram comitis de Sancto
 Ægidio, redeuntes de Sancto Jacobo, quem causa pere-
 grinationis visitaverant, et transissent per Tolosam;
 exploratores comitis injecerunt manus in eos et tenue-
 runt, et vinctos duxerunt ad illum, et ipse incarcerari
 fecit. Post multum vero temporis prædictus comes
 posuit cum eis rationem dicens, "Si comes Pictavensis
 "servientem meum quem in vinculis tenet liberum et
 "illæsum abire permetteret, permetterem ego et vos
 "liberos et illæsos abire." Unde factum est quod
 unus ex illis, scilicet Radulfus Fraser, permissus exire
 ad comitem Ricardum Pictavensem propter suam et
 prædicti servientis comitis de Sancto Ægidio libera-
 tionem. Sed comes Ricardus audiens quod ipsi red-
 euntes de Sancto Jacobo, in peregrinatione capti essent,
 respondit illi, quod per illum nec prece nec pretio
 liberarentur. Dicebat enim quod ipse magis offenderet
 Deum et beatum apostolum suum Jacobum quam pa-
 teretur, si ipse pro eis dedisset redemptionem, quia
 sola peregrinationis reverentia sufficiebat ad liberandum
 eos. Et cum illi alium responsum ab eo habere non
 potuissent, abierunt ad regem Franciæ, qui ad partes
 illas accesserat pro pace facienda inter comitem Ri-
 cardum et comitem de Sancto Ægidio. Et narraverunt
 ei omnia quæ illis acciderant, et quomodo capti fuerant
 et retenti in via peregrinationis suæ. Quo audito, rex
 Franciæ præcepit prædicto comiti de Sancto Ægidio
 dimittere peregrinos illos abire, non propter regis An-
 gliæ, vel Ricardi comitis filii sui amorem; sed propter
 beati apostoli Jacobi reverentiam et dilectionem.

Ralph
 Fraser suf-
 fered to go
 to Richard
 to treat of
 ransom;
 Richard
 refuses.

fo. 129 r.

The king of
 France
 orders the
 count of
 Toulouse to
 release the
 knights.

Respondit autem comes de Sancto Ægidio, quod nec

A.D. 1188. The count refuses. prece nec pretio illos dimitteret, nisi comes Ricardus dimisisset ei servientem suum. Tunc rex Franciæ videns quod nullam inter prædictos comites pacem vel concordiam facere posset, dimisit eos, ira et odio mortali inflammatus; et reversus est in Franciam.

June. Richard invades the county of Toulouse (after June 8, Bigory, 186).

Comes vero Pictavensis, magno congregato exercitu, intravit terram comitis de Sancto Ægidio, et eam devastavit in combustione ignis et hominum interfectione. Et castella ipsius prope Tolosam obsedit, et cepit. Audiens igitur Philippus rex Franciæ gemitus populi Tolosani, et clamores comitis de Sancto Ægidio, tactus ira et indignatione intrinsecus, nuncios suos misit in Angliam ad Henricum regem, significans ei excessus et gravamina quæ faciebat illi et genti suæ comes Ricardus filius ejus, et petiit ab eo sibi fieri ab eo emendationem. Rex vero Angliæ respondit illis qui missi fuerant, quod Ricardus filius suus nihil horum fecerat per consilium et voluntatem ipsius, et quod ipse eum justificare non potuit. His auditis nuncii regis Franciæ quos ipse in Angliam miserat, redierunt ad eum exponentes ei omnia quæ audierant et viderant.

Philip complains to Henry of the conduct of Richard.

The patriarch of Antioch writes to Henry II.

Interim patriarcha Antiochiæ videns Christianorum persecutionem, quam permisit Deus, peccatis nostris exigentibus, fieri in terra Jerusalem et in provinciis adjacentibus, timuit sibi et nobili civitati Antiochiæ. Et mittens nuncios suos per universos Christianorum principes, Henrico regi Angliæ, filio Matildis imperatricis, scripsit in hac forma.

Hoveden, 388. b. 15.

Hoveden, 388. b. 22, shorter.

“Epistola patriarchæ de Antiochia ad regem Angliæ.

A.D. 1187. September or October. “Ha.,¹ Dei gratia sanctæ² et apostolicæ sedis Antiochiæ patriarcha, Henrico, per eandem gratiam Anglorum illustris-

Hoveden, 388. b. 22.

¹ Ha.] Almeric, patriarch, 1142-1187. This letter must have been

written during the siege of Jerusalem, Sept. 20-Oct. 3.

² sanctæ] om. B.

Hoveden,
ss. l. 22.

"simo regi, dilecto domino et amico, in Illo per Quem
 "reges regnant.
 "Condignum et inestimabilem dolorem nostrum pro inspe-
 "rato et terribili quod nobis, immo toti Christianitati nuper
 "accidit, infortunio, cum lacrymis et singultibus excellentiæ
 "vestræ per hæc præsentia denunciāmus. Audiat vobiscum
 "omne sæculum dolorem nostrum, ut sciat unde veniat, aut
 "quo tendat luctus noster et nostra lamentatio. Quarto die
 "mensis Julii, anno Incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo
 "octogesimo septimo, Saladinus, collecta hostium peregrina
 "multitudine, prælium commisit cum iis qui erant in terra
 "Jerusalem Christianis, et fuis eorum copiis, de ipsis pro
 "velle suo triumphavit, vivifica cruce ludibrio Turcorum ex-
 "posita, capto rege cum fratre suo stabulario¹ et magistro
 "Templi, Raimundo quondam² principe propriis manibus
 "nefandi Saladini interfecto: et episcopis, cum Templariis et
 "Hospitalariis, et cum omni fere multitudine,³ militum mcc. et
 "peditum triginta millibus, in tuitione Sanctæ Crucis gladiis
 "jugulatis, excepta multitudine copiosa quæ postea in urbibus
 "quas cepit, est interempta vel captivata. Satiatus denique san-
 "guine Christianorum, Tiberiadem cepit et munivit: deinde
 "civitatem nobilem Accaron, Caiphas, Cæsaream, Jopen, Naza-
 "reth, Sebasten, Neapolim, Lidden, Ramatham, Arsur, Ebron,
 "Bethleem, et nunc demum sanctam civitatem Jerusalem,
 "et sepulcrum Domini obsedit, jurans quod ipsum frustatim
 "comminuet, et minutias ejus in profundum maris projiciet.
 "Pro residuis formidolosa nos hæsitatio detinet, ignorantes
 "diem et horam in qua subiciamur, ditioni ejus, et habitatores
 "earum vel captiventur, vel occidantur, maxime cum victuali-
 "bus et equitaturis et armis bellicis et defensoribus constet
 "esse spoliatos.
 "Pro hac tanta ira et indignatione Dei in nos effusa
 "desuper, panem nostrum cum lacrymis manducamus, et tur-
 "bamur terrore horribili, ne sepulcrum Dominicum exteris
 "tradatur nationibus, ne pauci, qui remansimus in terra
 "Christiana, si tardaverit succursus, urgentibus⁴ inimicis,

A.D. 1187.
September
or October.

The pa-
triaroh tells
the king of
the sad
event of the
battle of
Hittin.

fo. 129 v.

The capture
of the
strongholds,
and siege of
Jerusalem.

Frere of the
patriarch.

¹ *stabulario*] Amalric of Lusignan, constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and afterwards king of Cyprus.

² *quondam*] quoque, Hoveden. "Quondam" is right, as it refers to the fact that Reginald of Châtillon had been formerly prince of An-

tioch as husband of Constance, the heiress. Of course Raimundo is the old mistake for Reginaldo. Raymond of Poitiers was Constance's first husband.

³ *multitudine*] om. B.

⁴ *urgentibus*] om. B.

A.D. 1187.
September
or October.
He entreats
Henry for
special aid.

" nostras cervices gladiis ferientium supponamus. Et quoniam Hoveden,
202. b. 22.
" prudentia et opinione et divitiis cæteris regibus Occidenta-
" libus præeminetis; cujus auxilium semper expectavimus:
" precamur ut Terræ Sanctæ potenti festinanter succurratis
" auxilio. Et si tardaveritis, sepulcrum Dominicum cum An-
" tiochia nobili civitate, et terra sibi adjacenti, in opprobrium
" sempiternum exteris subiacebit nationibus. Mementote laudis
" et nominis vestri, ut Deus, Qui vos sublimavit in regnum,
" per vos exaltetur. Et si huic tam digno operi volueritis
" manum apponere, ut veniatis, vel optatum nobis mittatis
" succursum; totius Sanctæ Terræ liberatio vobis post Deum
" imputabitur: et nos ipsi, in quantum possumus, lugentes,
" et rea pectora nostra percutientes, ad Deum clamamus ut
" Ipse donet¹ vobis et velle et posse, id ipsum sic perficiendi
" ad laudem² et gloriam Sui nominis; quatenus in hoc mortis
" articulo Terræ Sanctæ et nobis succurratis clementer. Alio-
" quin nobis, qui variis³ subjacentes periculis diutino languore
" succumbimus, jam necesse erit exspirare, et fuso sanguine
" Christianorum, Dominicum sepulcrum, et Antiochiam no-
" bilem civitatem cum terra sibi adjacenti, in opprobrium
" sempiternum exteris nationibus subiacere. Rogamus præ-
" terea, ut dilectos fratres Gabilonensem et Valeniensem epi-
" scopos, quos pro hoc ipso ad vos mandavimus, commendatos
" habeatis. Valet."

A.D. 1188.
fo. 120 r.
Henry II.'s
answer to
the pa-
triarch of
Antioch.

" Epistola regis Angliæ ad patriarcham.

" Venerabilibus in Christo patribus et amicis A. et Heraclio, Hoveden,
207. a. 22.
" Dei gratia, Antiochiæ et Jerusalem patriarchis, et
" principi Antiochiæ, et universo populo Christiano Orientalis
" ecclesiæ, Henricus eadem gratia rex Anglorum, et dux Nor-
" mannorum et Aquitanorum, et comes Andegavorum, sa-
" lutem et consolationem in Christo. Quoniam peccatis nostris
" exigentibus, visitavit Dominus temporibus nostris in virga
" furoris Sui iniquitates nostras, et terram redemptam san-
" guine Divino permisit Judæorum manibus pollui perfidorum;
" ideo dignum est ut nos et cuncti qui Christianæ sunt reli-
" gionis, et ejusdem nominis professores, ad desolationem
" præfatæ terræ pietatis studio convertamur, et auxilium ac
" consilium studeamus totis viribus impartiri. Cum igitur

¹ *Ipse donet*] om. B.

² *laudem*] salutem, B.

³ *variis*] om. B.

⁴ Bohemond III., son of Con-

stance and Raymond of Poitiers, consequently first cousin once removed to Henry II. He reigned from 1168-1201.

- Howden,**
387. a. 22. "venisset ad nos A. Dei gratia venerabilis Valeniensis¹ epi- A.D. 1188.
"scopus, et dolores et calamitates quibus Orientalis ecclesia He has re-
"premitur profusis lacrymis et profundis suspiriis indicasset, solved the
"quanta graviora videmus instare pericula, tanto fortius ac sad news,
"celerius ad maturum subsidium compassio nos accingit. and en-
"Habentes itaque in Eo spem et fiduciam, Qui in Se spe- courages the
"rantes nullatenus derelinquit, viriliter agite, et confortetur in patriarch
"with hopes
"of assistance.
- Pa. xxvii. 14.** "Domino cor vestrum, quoniam illud credimus Ysaie vati-
Isa. lx. 4, 5. "cinium jam impletum, 'Jerusalem, leva in circuitu oculos
"tuos et vide; omnes isti congregati venerunt tibi. Tunc
"videbis et afflues; et mirabitur, et dilatabitur cor tuum,
"quando conversa fuerit ad te multitudo maris, fortitudo
"gentium venerit tibi.' Nunc autem Dominus, Qui respicit
"super filios hominum, ut videat si est intelligens aut re-
Pa. xiv. 2. "quirens Deum, sic Christianorum hactenus sopitos ad ser-
"vitium Suum excitavit affectus, ut unusquisque qui Domini
Howd. xxxii.
27. "est, gladium suum jam posuerit super femur suum, et
"beatum se quisque reputat et fidelem qui patrem et matrem
"et omnia dereliquerit, ut possit Christo et Terræ Sanctæ
"illatas injurias vindicare. Constantes igitur estote, et in He promises
"promptu videbitis auxilium vobis a Domino præparatum. speedy aid.
"Citius enim quam credatis tanta vobis per terram et per
"mare in auxilium fidelis populi superveniet multitudo, quan-
1 Cor. ii. 9. "tam neo oculus vidit nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis
"ascendit; quam quidem Dominus ad terræ vestræ præsidium
"præparavit. Inter cæteros autem principes ego et filius He himself
"meus, rejecta hujus mundi gloria, et spretis voluptatibus and Richard
"universis, omnibusque quæ mundi sunt, postpositis, in per- have taken
"sonis propriis totis viribus vos cito, auctore Domino, visita- the cross.
"bimus. Valete."
- Howden,**
387. a. 44,
shorter. Dum hæc fierent, Philippus rex Franciæ, magno June.
congregato exercitu, intravit Berriam, terram regis Philip in-
Angliæ de patrimonio reginæ Alienor uxoris suæ, and takes
cepit Castrum Radulfi² quod burgenses reddiderunt ei. Châtea-
Et inde procedens, reddita est illi fere tota Berria roux, with
exceptis Luchis, et cæteris dominicis castellis regis all the other
Angliæ. Bucharus³ vero de Vendomia timens adven- fortresses
except Loches, and
those in
demeana.

¹ *Valeniensis*] Valenia, now Ba-
nias, was a see in the province of
Apamea, on the coast between Jeb-
leh and Merkeb.

² Philip took Châteaunroux, June
16. R. Diceto, 639.

³ Buchar IV., eldest son of John,
count of Vendome, succeeded his
father in the county in 1192. It
will be remembered that he took the
side of the younger Henry in oppo-
sition to his father. See vol. i. p. 63.

Hoveden,
368. n. 22.

" ad custodiendum infirmos usque in unum annum. Fratres
 " vero Hospitalis de Belliverio¹ optime resistunt Saracenis
 " adhuc, et jam duas carrivas Saracenorum expugnaverunt,
 " in quarum captione alterius, omnia arma et utensilia et vic-
 " tualia quæ erant in castro Fabæ, quod Saraceni destruxerant,
 " viriliter lucrati sunt. Adhuc etiam resistunt Saladino Grag-
 " cus Montis Regalis,² et Mons Regalis,³ et Saphet Templi,⁴ et
 " Gragchus⁵ [Hospitalis],⁶ et Margant, et castellum Blancum,
 " et terra Tripolis, et terra Antiochiæ. Capta autem Jero-
 " solima, Saladinus crucem de templo Domini deponi fecit,
 " et eam per duos dies per civitatem in ostentum fustigando
 " portari fecit. Deinde fecit templum Domini aqua rosata
 " intus et exterius, sursum et deorsum lavari, et legem suam
 " desuper illud per quatuor partes miro tumultu acclamari.
 " A festo vero S. Martini usque ad Circumcisionem Domini
 " obsedit Tyrum, tredecim perrariis, die noctueque, lapides in
 " eam incessanter jactantibus. In vigilia autem S. Sylvestri
 " dominus Conradus marchio milites et pedites per murum
 " civitatis disposuit, armatis septemdecim galeis et decem
 " aliis naviculis, cum auxilio domus Hospitalis et fratrum
 " Templi adversus galeas Saladini dimicavit, easque ex-
 " pugnans, undecim ex eis retinuit, et magnum Alexandria
 " admiraldum cum octo aliis admiraldis⁷ cepit, Saracenorum
 " multitudine interfecta. Reliquæ vero galeæ Saladini Chris-
 " tianitatis manus evadentes, ad Saladinum et ad exercitum
 " ejus confugerunt, quibus præcepto illius in terram extractis,
 " ipse Saladinus, igne appposito, in cinerem fecit redigi et fa-
 " villam; nimioque dolore commotus, equi sui auriculas et
 " caudam amputans, equum illum per totum exercitum viden-
 " tibus omnibus equitavit."

A.D. 1188.
January.

The Hos-
pitaillers are
still defend-
ing Belvoir;
and Kerak,
Montreal,
Safet, Kerak
of the Hos-
pital, Mar-
gat, Castel
Blanc, and
Tripoli hold
out.

Tyre was
besieged
from Nov. 11
to Jan. 1;
but Conrad
defeated
Saladin at
sea on Dec.
30.

fo. 131 r^o.

Hoveden,
368. n. 43.

Eodem anno, Johannes Dunkeldensis episcopus, post
 Purificationem Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, rediit a curia
 domini papæ; Hugone episcopo Sancti Andreæ depo-
 sito. Unde dominus papa in hac forma scripsit.

February.

John of
Dunkeld
brings letter
from pope
Clement III.

¹ *Belliverio*] Belvoir or Kaukab,
held out until January 1189.

² *Gragcus Montis Regalis*] Kerak,
which held out until November
1188.

³ *Mons Regalis*] Montreal or Sho-
bek, held out until May 1189.

⁴ *Saphet*] Safed held out until
November 1188.

⁵ *Gragchus Hospitalis*] Hean-al-
Akrad, and Margat (Merkeb), were
not taken during this crusade.

⁶ *Hospitalis*] om. B.

⁷ *admiraldis*] amigdalīs, B.

A.D. 1188.
Jan. 16.
The pope
reminds the
Scottish
bishops
that pope
Urban III.
had sum-
moned
bishop
Hugh to the
papal court,
and he had
refused to
come.

fo. 131 v°.

The pope
deposes him
from the see
of S. An-
drew's and
all episcopal
functions,
and orders
the chapter
of S. An-
drew's to
make a new
election, re-
commending
bishop
John.

Jan. 16.
The pope
writes to
the king of
Scotland.

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus Hoveden,
308. a. 42.
"fratribus Jocelino Glascuensi, et Mathæo Aberdenensi epi-
"scopis, et dilectis filiis Arnaldo¹ abbati de Melros, et Ber-
"tram priori de Coldingham,² salutem et apostolicam bene-
"dictionem. Ne in dubitationis recidant scrupulum quæ
"geruntur; dignum est litterarum memoriæ commendari, et
"ad illorum notitiam quorum interesse videtur, celebri ac
"veridica insinuatione perferri. Meminimus autem quod bonæ
"memoriæ Urbanus papa, prædecessor noster, Hugoni quon-
"dam dicto episcopo Sancti Andree, pro controversia quæ
"inter eum et venerabilem fratrem nostrum Johannem verte-
"batur, sub excommunicationis interpositione mandavit, ut
"ad certum diem responsurus in jure aspectui se apostolico
"præsenteret. Verum quia conscius actuum suorum, et
"eventum iudicii non immerito reformidans, venire contuma-
"citer recusavit; nos pro hoc et pro aliis multis quæ cre-
"brescente fama ecclesiæ Dei scandalum pepererunt, ipsum
"ab episcopatu Sancti Andree, de consilio et assensu fratrum,
"perpetuo judicavimus, apostolicæ sedis auctoritate, remotum:
"et ab usu episcopalis officii eo usque suspensum, donec
"apostolica sedes duxerit de ipso aliter statuendum, absol-
"ventes a fidelitate subditos, quæ ei tenebantur astricti. Sane
"quia vacantes ecclesias diutius regimine pastoralis carere
"sacrorum canonum inhibent sanctiones; discretionis vestræ
"per apostolica scripta mandantes,³ quatenus dilectos filios
"nostros capitulum Sancti Andree ex parte nostra diligentius
"moneatis, ut sibi talem eligant episcopum et pastorem, qui
"digne possit episcopalis officii dignitate potiri. Specialiter
"autem eos, quantum vobis possibile fuerit, inducere labo-
"retis, ut memoratum Johannem episcopum, virum bonæ
"opinionis, et pro sui honestate nobis et fratribus nostris
"acceptum, ad regimen et prælationem illius ecclesiæ sine
"cujusquam scrupulo difficultatis assumant. Quod si omnes
"his exsequendis nequiveritis interesse, duo vestrum ea
"nihilominus exsequantur. Datum Pisæ, xvii°. kalendas Feb-
"ruarii. Indictione sexta."

"*Epistola Clementis papæ tertii ad Willelmum regem Sctorum.*

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Willelmo illu- Hoveden,
308. b. 30.
"tri regi Sctorum, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.
"Oculos Divinæ Majestatis offendere non modicum aestima-

¹ Arnaldo] Arnado, B.

² Coldingham] Colingham, B.

³ mandantes] mandamus, Hoveden.

Hoveden,
vol. i. 28.

“mus, si praelatorum excessus, quibus indulgere salva con-
 “scientia non possumus, per incuriam sine coercione debita
 “relinquamus. Unde cum bonæ memoriæ Urbanus papa
 “prædeceasor noster, Hugoni quondam dicto episcopo Sancti
 “Andree, per controversiam quæ inter eum et venerabilem
 “fratrem nostrum Johannem episcopum vertebatur, sub ex-
 “communicationis interpositione mandaverit, ut ad certum
 “diem responsurus in jure conspectui se apostolico præsen-
 “taret; et ipse conscius actuum suorum, et eventum judicii
 “non immerito reformidans, ex contumacia venire contempsit:
 “sed nos pro hoc et pro aliis multis, quæ crebescente fama
 “ecclesiæ Dei scandalum pepererunt, ipsum ab episcopatu
 “Sancti Andree, de consilio et assensu fratrum, perpetuo
 “judicavimus, apostolicæ sedis auctoritate remotum; et ab
 “usu episcopalis officii eo usque suspensum, donec apostolica
 “sedes duxerit de ipso aliter statuendum, absolventes a fide-
 “litate subjectos quæ ei tenebantur astricti. Licoet enim ad
 “honorem et profectus tuos, quantum cum Deo possumus,
 “firmum habemus propositum intendendi, et in facto præ-
 “dicti Hugonis curia Romana non absque detractatione mul-
 “torum hactenus regiæ serenitati detulerit; quia tamen cla-
 “mor ipsius ad nos indubitata fide pervenit, nequivimus errata
 “sua ulterius sub dissimulatione clausis oculis præterire:
 “propter quod [nihil] in hac parte credimus actum de quo
 “debeat animus regius quacunque ratione moveri. Rogamus
 “autem devotionem tuam prece et affectione quæ possumus,
 “et monemus in Domino, quatenus memoratum Johannem
 “episcopum, quem nos et fratres nostri, pro sui honestate,
 “sincero corde eligimus, pro reverentia apostolicæ sedis et
 “nostræ, in visceribus caritatis commendatum habeas et ac-
 “ceptum: et remissa si qua fuerit conceptæ indignationis
 “offensa, ipsum in omnibus regiæ clementia et benignitate
 “pertractes. Credimus equidem quod de industria et pro-
 “bitate ipsius, tibi et regno tuo, auctore Domino, multum
 “accedere [poterit] incrementi; et nobis usque quam gratum
 “existet, si optatum apud regiæ aures preces nostræ sor-
 “tiantur effectum. Datum Pisæ, xviii. kalendas Februarii,
 “indictione sexta.”

A.D. 1188.
Jan. 18.
Bishop
Hugh was
summoned
to the papal
court by
Urban III.
and refused
to come.

He is there-
fore de-
prived of
his see, and
suspended
from episco-
pal func-
tions.

The pope
requests the
king to re-
ceive bishop
John.

Hoveden,
vol. i. 28,
rather
longer.

His auditis, præfatus rex Scotorum, tandem suorum
 fretus consilio, Johannem Dunkeldensem episcopum
 recepit ea conditione, quod ipse Johannes quietum
 clamaret in perpetuum a calumnia sua, episcopatum
 Sancti Andree: et ita factum est ab eo, et in regis
 misericordia. Et Hugo denique, quondam episcopus

The king re-
ceives John
on condition
that he re-
nounces St.
Andrew's.

A.D. 1188. Sancti Andreæ, jam depositus et in sententia anathematis a summo pontifice revocatus, Romam absolvendus est profectus. Quo cum venisset, data cautione standi iudicio ecclesiæ, meruit absolvi. Sed paucis supervixit diebus. Nam mense Augusti¹ in urbe Romulea tanta fiebat aeris corruptio, quod multi cardinales et ditiores urbis, cum innumera plebis multitudine interierunt; et ipse Hugo cum tota fere familia sua obiit.

Bishop
Hugh goes
to Rome
and is ab-
solved, but
dies there in
August.

Hoveden,
379. a. 4.

Henry, elect of Dol, dies at Rome. Eodem tempore obiit Römæ Henricus,² electus [Dolensis],³ qui quondam fuerat decanus de Moretanea.

Henry II.
sends to
collect the
Ralaftin
tithe in
Scotland.

Hoveden,
382. a. 44,
very briefly.

fo. 123 r.

The bishop
of Durham
confers with
the king of
Scotland at
Hirgham, in
Lothian.

The Scot-
tish barons
refuse to pay
the tithe.

Interim Henricus rex Angliæ misit Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, et quosdam alios familiares suos, tam clericos quam laicos, ad Willelmum regem Scotorum, ad decimas colligendas de terra sua. Ipse enim obtulerat domino suo regi Angliæ, antequam transfretaret, quatuor millia marcarum argenti pro castellis suis rehabendis. Cui rex Angliæ respondit, rem bene profecturam si concessisset ei decimam terræ suæ. Cujus petitionibus rex Scotiæ satisfacere cupiens, concessit ei decimam quam petebat, si homines suos ad hoc faciendum inducere posset. Cum igitur præfatus Dunelmensis episcopus, et cæteri domini regis Angliæ nuncii, venissent in Leoneis, ad locum qui dicitur Brigeam, ad loquendum cum rege Scotorum de decimis in terra sua colligendis, ipse rex Scotorum cum omnibus fere episcopis et comitibus et baronibus terræ suæ, et cum infinita hominum suorum multitudine, ad locum præfixum venerunt; et audita adventus nunciorum regis causa et eorum petitione, habito cum suis consilio, respondit, se non posse animos eorum inclinare ad decimam dandam. Et ipsi pro se responderunt se nunquam decimam daturos; nec etiam si rex Angliæ

¹ This was the plague in which prior Honorius of Canterbury, and the monks attached to his mission, cardinal Theobald of Oatis, and many others perished.

² Henry, son of Robert Fitz-Harding. Mon. Angl. vi. 365.

³ *Dolensis*] supplied from Hoveden. See below, p. 60.

et dominus eorum rex Scotiæ juravissent se illam habituros, nunquam illam darent. Nuncii igitur regis Angliæ, qui ad hoc missi fuerant, videntes se in hac parte nihil posse proficere, licet nunc blandis, nunc asperis plurimum attentassent, in patriam suam reversi sunt, significantes domino suo regi Angliæ, qui tunc in Normannia erat, responsum regis Scotiæ et suorum.

A.D. 1182.
The English
ambas-
sadors return
home.

Hoveden,
287. b. 6.

Interim comes Pictavensis, magno congregato exercitu, profectus est Berriam; cujus adventu audito, Philippus rex Francorum tradidit Willelmo de Barres, militi suo, Castrum Radulfi custodiendum, et ipse reversus est in Franciam. Comes autem Ricardus terras comitum et baronum qui adhæserunt regi Franciæ destruxit, et multos illorum cepit. Rex autem Franciæ, audito regis Angliæ adventu, a Francia recedere non ausus erat, sed permisit exercitus suos devastare terras regis Angliæ. Unde factum est quod Philippus episcopus de Belvez,¹ consanguineus regis Franciæ, cum exercitu suo intravit Normanniam, et combussit Blanchi villam comitis de Auca, et Aubermalliam, castellum comitis Willelmi de Mandevilla, et alia castella et villas combussit, et homines multos interfecit, et prædas abduxit.

Richard
enters
Berry, and
Philip re-
tires from it.

The bishop
of Beauvais
invades
Normandy,
and burns
Blanchi and
Aumale.

Hoveden,
287. b. 12.

Et ipse rex Franciæ cum exercitu magno intravit terras regis Angliæ, et combussit villam de Trou, et castellum totum, nec tamen illud capere potuit; sed quadraginta de militibus regis Angliæ cepit. Hæc contra, Ricardus comes Pictavensis cepit munitissimum locum qui vocatur Les Reches, ultra Treu versus Vindocinum, et cepit in illo loco xxv. milites et xl. servientes.

Philip him-
self burns
Trou.

Richard
takes Les
Reches.

Hoveden,
287. b. 12.

Henricus vero rex Angliæ, videns damnum et excessus quos Franciæ rex suis et sibi faciebat, misit ad eum Walterum Rothomagensis archiepiscopum, et Johannem Ebroicensem episcopum, et Willelmum Mares-

Henry II.
sends to
Philip

¹ *Belvez*] Philip, son of Robert I., count of Dreux, bishop 1180–217.

A.D. 1198. callum, et alios quosdam de familiaribus suis, petens Hoveden, 287. b. 21.
 to demand
 reparation;
 and threat-
 ens to re-
 nounce his
 fealty.

**Philip de-
 mands
 Berry and
 the Norman
 Vexin.**

**The ambas-
 sadors re-
 turn.**

sa. 128 v.

August 29.
**Henry in-
 vades
 France, and
 advances to
 Mantes.**

**William des
 Barres is
 taken by
 Richard, but
 escapes.**

August 31.
**Henry stays
 at Yvri,
 Richard
 goes into
 Berry.**

Sept. 1.
**Henry's
 Welsh
 troops burn
 Danville.**

ab eo sibi fieri restitutionem damni quod ipse et sui ei fecerant: et si hoc facere non quiesceret, mandavit ei, tanquam inimico mortali suo, quod amodo nullam ei servaret fidelitatem; sed in omnibus illum velut hostem suum vitaret, et damna pro posse suo sibi et terræ suæ inferret. His auditis, rex Franciæ respondit se a cæptis nolle desistere, donec tota Berria et totum Wougnassin Normannicum sibi et imperio suo subjacerent.

Tunc nuncii regis Angliæ, qui ad regem Franciæ missi fuerant, intelligentes responsum regis Franciæ, a curia sua recesserunt, narrantes domino suo quæ audierant et viderant.

Nacta igitur occasione ex injuriis sibi a domino rege Franciæ illatis, Henricus rex Angliæ, magno congregato exercitu, ingressus est terram regis Franciæ, die Martis post Decollationem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et combussit plures villas, et equitavit die illo prope Mante, ubi rex Franciæ dicebatur esse. Et ibi congressi sunt Willelmus des Barres, et Drogo de Merlou,¹ cum paucis militibus Franciæ, cum Ricardo comite Pictavensi, et comite Willelmo de Mandavilla, et aliis de familiis regis Angliæ; ita quod Willelmus des Barres a comite Ricardo captus et per fidem positus fuit; sed [dum] milites regis Angliæ cæteris intenderent, prædictus Willelmus des Barres super unum runcinum pueri sui evasit.

Die vero Mercurii sequenti, moram fecit rex Angliæ apud Yveru, et comes Ricardus profectus est in Berriam, promittens regi patri suo quod bene et fideliter ei serviret.

Die autem Jovis, in die Sancti Ægidii, Walenses regis Angliæ ipso nesciente, ingressi sunt in terram regis Franciæ, et combusserunt castellum Simonis de

¹ Drogo or Dreux IV. de Merlo, the crusader, made constable of France in 1204.

- Hoveden,**
367. b. 27. Aneth, scilicet Danevillam, et multas alias villas; et prædas abduxerunt; et nemini parcentes omnes interfecerunt quos invenerunt. **A.D. 1122.**
Sept. 1.
and other towns.
- Hoveden,**
367. b. 28. Eodem die comes Willelmus de Mandevilla com-
bussit villam de Sancto Claro, quæ est de dominio regis Franciæ; et vastavit virgultum pulcherrimum quem ipse rex plantaverat. **William of**
Mandeville
burns S.
Clair.
- Hoveden,**
367. b. 66. Eodem die rex Angliæ cum paucis militibus intravit terram regis Franciæ, ut infirmiora partium illarum exploraret. Ibiq[ue] venerunt nuncii regis Franciæ, qui pacem rogabat, et offerebat ei terram quam super eum occupaverat in Berria. Deinde inter eos habito consilio apud Gisortium, cum inter illos de pace facienda non potuisset convenire, rex Franciæ in iram et indignationem commotus, succidit ulmum quandam pulcherrimam inter Gisortium et Trie, ubi colloquia haberi solebant inter reges Franciæ et duces Normanniæ.¹ **Philip pro-**
poses peace.

Conference
at Gisora.

Philip cuts
down the
great elm
between
Trie and
Gisora.
- Hoveden,**
370. a. 22. Interim quoddam mirabile contigit in Anglia: in vigilia namque beati Laurentii martyris, feria tertia, circa horam diei nonam, apud villam de Dunstable, aperti sunt cœli super eam, et multis tam clericis quam laicis videntibus apparuit crux quædam longa nimis et miræ magnitudinis. Et apparuit in ea Dominus noster Jesus Christus clavis confixus; et manus ejus extensæ erant in patibulo; et plagæ manuum et pedum et lateris Ejus erant sanguinolentæ, et sanguis defluebat, sed non in terram. Erat autem hæc apparitio continua ab hora diei nona usque in crepusculum. **August 2.**
Wonderful
appearances
in the sky
seen at
Dunstable.
- p. 28 above.** Eodem anno Hugo de Nunant consecratus est episcopus Cestriæ, a Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. **Hugh of**
Nunant con-
secrated.
- Hoveden,**
370. a. 11. Et eodem anno quidam frater Templi Jerusalem, nomine Gilebertus de Hogestan,² quem dominus rex constituerat cum clericis suis ad decimas colligendas, **Gilbert of**
Horton a
fo. 128 r.
Templar,

¹ R. Diceto gives the date of the conference "17 kal. Sept.," placing it before Henry's advance to Mantua.

² *Hogestan*] *Ogerstan*, *Hoveden*.

A.D. 1188. furatus est magnam denariorum partem, quos receperunt Hoveden, 376. a. 14, very briefly.
 de decima. Cæteri autem mirabantur quod numerus
 denariorum decrescebat magis ac magis de die in diem;
 et murmur multus factus est inter eos; unusquisque
 enim illorum alterum habebat suspectum. Contigit
 autem quadam die dum computarent denarios quos
 receperant, prædictus Gilebertus magnam illarum par-
 tem, dum socii ejus alias intenderent, abscondit in sinu
 suo, et in manticis suis, quas latas, more gentis suæ,
 habebat. Nolens ergo Scrutator cordium Deus iniqui-
 tatem illius diutius sub velamento religionis celari,
 manifestavit cuidam illorum opera ejus, qui attentius
 considerabat quæ fiebant; [qui] dixit, "Dedecus est no-
 " bis quod numerus denariorum nostrorum ita decrescit
 " quotidie; et nescio per quem fieri possit nisi per
 " aliquem ex nobis; et scrutemur quis ille sit;" et
 omnes dictis illius præbent assensum. Frater autem
 Gilebertus conscius sibi obmutuit et "siluit a bonis, Pa. xxix. 2.
 " et dolor suus renovatus est." Inceperunt ergo ab
 ipso qui consilium dederat scrutari; et procedentes
 in ordine, pervenerunt ad prædictum Gilebertum; qui
 iniquitatis suæ conscius, cecidit in faciem suam pro-
 volutus ad pedes eorum; et cognoscens furtum quod
 fecerat, protulit denarios et veniam postulavit. Indi-
 caverunt ergo regi eventum rei, et licet ratione judicii
 exigente, suspendi in patibulo mereretur, tamen rex
 misertus illius eo quod familiaris ei exstiterat, tradidit
 eum magistro Templi¹ Lundoniarum, præcipiens ei quod
 secundum ordinis sui statuta eum tractaret. Quem
 suscipiens vinculis mancipavit et diversis poenis affixit.
 De diversitate autem poenarum illarum,

He is spared
by the king,
and punish-
ed by the
master of
the Temple.

"Querite quos agitat ordinis illius labor."

The counts
of Flanders
and Hain

Interim comes Flandriæ et comes Theobaldus, et Hoveden, 387. b. 47.
 cæteri comites et barones de regno Franciæ contra

¹ Geoffrey Fitz-Stephen. *Mon. Angl.* vi. 821.

Hoveden,
367. b. 48.

quorum consilium rex Franciæ guerram fecerat, arma sua deposuerunt, dicentes se nunquam gestaturos contra Christianos donec redirent de peregrinatione Jerosolimitanæ profectionis. Tunc rex præfatus Franciæ auxilio suorum destitutus, petiit a rege Angliæ colloquium.

A.D. 1183.
refuse to
bear arms
until after
the crusade.Hoveden,
367. b. 51.

Quo concessio, habuerunt colloquium apud Castellum, in crastino Sanctæ Fidis Virginis. Ubi cum modus pacis ordinaretur inter eos hoc modo, quod rex Franciæ resignare deberet regi Angliæ quicquid in terris suis occupaverat post captam treugam; et comes Ricardus similiter faceret comiti de Sancto Ægidio quicquid in terris [suis]¹ occupaverat: rex Franciæ per ejus improbitatem petiit a rege Angliæ castrum de Pasci in obsidem. Et quia rex Angliæ hoc facere noluit, ab invicem discordes discesserunt.

Oct. 7.
Conference
between
Henry and
Philip at
Châtillon;
ineffectual.Hoveden,
368. a. 2.

Rex vero Franciæ inde recedens cepit castrum de Palud; et transitum faciens per Castrum Radulfi, inde duxit ruttam Braibancenorum Teutonicam usque Biturum, promittens eis bene stipendia sua. Sed apud Biturum, injectis in eos manibus, abstulit eis omnes equos suos, et arma et pecuniam universam, et eos inermes et nudos eiecit. Comes autem Ricardus obtulit regi Franciæ venire in curiam suam, et judicio stare de iis quæ fiebant inter illum et comitem de Sancto Ægidio; ut sic fieret pax inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ patrem suum. Quod multum displicuit regi patri suo. Post illud autem colloquium, Neulom filius Ursonis de Freteval juravit regi Angliæ fidelitatem contra omnes homines et fidele servitium. Et rex Angliæ fecit ei cartam suam de honore de Lavardin et de Faia. Et ipse dedit regi filium suum obsidem, et alios multos filios propinquorum suorum.

Philip takes
Palluau, and
withdraws
his merce-
naries from
Château-
roux, and
plunders
them.
fo. 13a v°.Richard
offers to sub-
mit to the
judgement of
Philip.Nevelon of
Freteval
returns to
Henry.

¹ *suis*] om. B. Hoveden has "quicquid super eum per guerram occupaverat."

A.D. 1188.
Sept. 29.
Beverley
burnt.

Eodem anno, duodecimo kalendas Octobris, feria tertia, vigilia Sancti Mathæi, apostoli et evangelistæ, tota villa de Beverlaco, cum nobili ecclesia beati Johannis archiepiscopi, combusta est.

Similiter eodem anno multæ civitates et in Anglia et in Normannia combustæ sunt.

Henry, in
hope of
peace, dis-
bands his
mercenaries.

Interim rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ sæpius per internuncios suos de pace tractabant faciendâ, ita quod rex Angliæ sperans pacem in promptu¹ fieri, permisit solidarios suos et Walenses suos domum redire.

Nov. 12.
Conference
of the kings
between
Bonnecon-
line and
Sully :
ineffectual.

Interim rex Angliæ et rex Franciæ colloquium habuerunt de pace faciendâ inter se, inter Bons-Mulins et Sulennei, xiv^o. kalendas Decembris, feria sexta : ubi rex Franciæ obtulit regi Angliæ quicquid ceperat de eo per guerram ; tali conditione quod tradidisset Alais sororem suam comiti Ricardo filio suo in uxorem ; et eidem Ricardo fieri fidelitates hominum regni Angliæ et aliarum terrarum suarum : sed inter eos convenire non potuit.

Hoveden,
270. a. 22.

Richard
does homage
to Philip.

In eodem vero colloquio Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, sine consilio et voluntate patris sui regis Angliæ, devenit homo Philippi regis Franciæ, de Normannia, et Pictavia, et Andegavia, et Cenomannia, et Berria, et Tolosa, et de omnibus aliis feodis suis transmarinis : et ei fidelitatem juravit contra omnes homines, salva fidelitate quam debebat regi patri suo. Pro hac igitur fidelitate et homagio, Philippus rex Franciæ promisit ei se redditurum illi Castrum Radulfi, et omnia alia castella et terras, quas occupaverat in Berria ; et reddidit ei Ysoudun cum toto honore, et omnia alia, tam homines quam terras quas occupaverat in aliis guerris, habitis inter ipsum et regem Angliæ. Præfati vero reges, scilicet rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ, statuerunt treugas usque festum Sancti Hilarii.

Hoveden,
270. a. 23,
shorter.

Philip
promises to
restore
Château-
roux and
Ysoudun.
A truce con-
cluded until
Jan. '13

Interim dominus papa Clemens, misertus calamitatis

¹ promptu] pro, B.

terræ Jerosolimitanæ; et sciens quod nisi pax celerius fieret inter prædictos reges, iter Jerosolimitanæ profectionis, ad quod fere omnes reges et principes Occidentalis Christianitatis pro posse suo anhelabant, quam plurimum impediretur; Henricum Albanensem¹ episcopum cardinalem misit ad eos, ad pacem inter eos reformandam. Sed ipse ad neutrum illorum ante diem colloquii declinare voluit, ne suspectus hinc vel inde haberetur, sed in Flandriam perrexit ad Philippum comitem; et ibi moram fecit usque dum dies colloqui appropinquasset.

A.D. 1188.
Clement
III. sends
Henry,
bishop of
Albano, to
fo. 124 r.
make peace
between
Henry and
Philip.

Hoveden,
379. a. 44.

Interim nuncii Philippi regis Franciæ, qui missi fuerant ad imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, qui vocabatur Ysakius, in hac forma scripserunt regi Franciæ:²

Report of
the French
envoys at
Constanti-
nople.

"Sciatis quod exercitus regis Saladini confectus est ante Antiochiam; et Raimundus³ princeps Antiochiæ currit singulis diebus ante Alepe. Margaritus⁴ cepit Japham, et omnes Turkos interfecit, qui erant in ea, scilicet quinque millia, et octo admiratos cepit. Cepit etiam Gibelet et omnes occidit. Dominus Mullæ⁵ major Saladino infestat Saladinum; dominus etiam Meremdim,⁶ Cilif⁷ dominus de Baldao, major omnibus Turcis, infestat Saladinum pro posse suo. Sciatis etiam quod Soldanus Yconii maritavit filiam suam filio Saladini, et Saladinus filiam suam filio Soldani. Et bene notum est quod Kutepez⁸ interfecit uxorem suam, filiam Soldani. Est autem et indubitabilis, sicut dicunt omnes, prophetia David⁹ Constantinopolitani, quod eo anno quo Annunciatio Domini in die Paschæ contingit, Franci restaurabunt Terram Promissionis, et stabulabunt equos suos in Palmaria de Baldao, et figent tentoria sua ultra arborem

Affairs of
the Holy
Land.

Saladin's
difficulties.

Prophecy of
the success
of the crus-
ade in 1190.

Hoveden,
379. a. 44.

¹ Henry, late abbot of Clairvaux. See vol. I. p. 238.

² This letter is given by R. de Diceto, c. 641. It is a second case in which Hoveden gives only an abstract of a document given in full in our chronicle.

³ Raimundus] Bohemond III.

⁴ Margarit, the admiral of William the Good. See Itiner. R. R., p. 27.

⁵ dominus Mullæ] The sultan of Mosul, Asseddin Masoud.

⁶ dominus etiam Meremdim] Noureddin. Bohadin, *Vita Saladini*, 60.

⁷ Cilif] The Caliph Nasr Zedinillah.

⁸ Kutepez] Kothbeddin, son of Kilidg Aralan II., sultan of Iconium.

⁹ David] Danielis, Diceto; Daniel, Hoveden.

- A.D. 1188. " siccam, et lolium separabitur a tritico. Certissime quoque
 Reports " noveritis quod vadum inventum est in Brachio Sancti Georgii.
 from Con- " Verum etiam nec celandum est quod Soldanus Yoonii exosum
 stantinople. " habet imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, quia non solvit
 " ex una parte quadringentas libras auri quas solebat ei sol-
 " vere singulis annis postquam fuit imperator; et ex alia
 " parte trecentas. Notate, fratres, verbum illud quod impera-
 " tor Constantinopolitanus quandoque nobis dixit, quod oculus
 Turks cap- " non fallitur. Aliud vobis dicimus per gratiam Dei, quod tot
 tured at " Turci capti sunt apud Sur, quod duo Turci vendebantur
 Tyro. " pro uno bisantio. Saladinus dixit quandoque in tentorio
 " suo exthacio¹ Patricii et Baliani² qui habebat uxorem [regis]
 Treachery of " Jerusalem, quod comes Tripolitanus tradidit eis totam
 the count of " Terram Promissionis. Et sciatis quod apud imperatorem
 Tripoli and " Constantinopolis plus honoris exhibetur nunciis Saladini in
 the emperor " palatio, quam omnibus aliis in summa dignitate locatis.
 of Constanti- " Saladinus etiam tradidit omnes ecclesias [Terræ] Promissionis
 nople. " nunciis imperatoris Constantinopolitani, ut serviatur in eis
 " secundum consuetudinem Græcam. Non est fides in aliquo
 " Græco etiam si manu juraverit. Noveritis etiam quod do-
 " minus Saladinus, assensu imperatoris Constantinopolis, misit
 Saladin's " Constantinopolim idolum suum, ut ibi publice adoretur: sed
 idol has " per gratiam Dei captum est in mari a Venetiensibus³ et cum
 been taken " ipsa navi ductum est Tyrum. Nunc autem de novo publica
 at sea. " fama est, quod exercitus Saladini confectus est ante Antio-
 " chiam. Verbum autem illud quod senex Græcus de Astralix
 " dixit domino Waltero Templario, unde cæteri Græci offensi
 " fuerunt, nunc implebitur, sicut dicunt: scilicet quod Latini
 " imperabunt et dominabuntur in civitate Constantinopoli;
 " quia scriptum est, in porta aurea, quæ non fuit aperta du-
 " centis annis⁴ retro, 'Quando veniet rex flavus Occidentalis,
 " 'ego per memet ipsum aperiar.' Sciatis quod Assen,⁵ vir
 " ille probissimus, in veste imperiali toxicatus est. Imperator
 " promisit Saladino centum galeas, et Saladinus dedit ei totam
 " Terram Promissionis, si imperator impedierit viam Fran-
 " corum. Verissime vobis dicimus, quod si aliquis acceperit
 " crucem Constantinopoli, statim capitur et in carcerem mit-
 " titur. Hæc autem prophetia et astronomia Turcorum est,

¹ *exthacio*] Eustacio, Diceto.

² Balian II. of Ibelin, the second husband of Mary of Constantinople, widow of Amalric, king of Jerusalem.

³ *Venetiensibus*] Jannensibus, Dioceto; venientibus, B.

⁴ See Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, p. 53.

⁵ *Assen*] Assen, king of Bulgaria, 1180-1189.

Hoveden,
376. b. 7.

" quod infra hoc triennium una pars Turcorum gladio peribit, A.D. 1188.
 " altera fugiet ultra arborem siccam; tertia vero baptisabitur. Prophecias.
 " Scimus autem quod Saladinus nullum Turcorum invenit
 " qui audeat edificare in Terra Promissionis, vel familiam
 " suam inducere, pro timore venientium Francorum. Die vero ¹
 " qua lator presentium recessit de Constantinopoli, venerunt
 " certi nuncii quod exercitus Saladini confectus est ante An- Report of
 " tiochiam, et capti sunt frater Saladini et filius ejus. Ipsa Saladini's
 " autem die qua lator presentium recessit, præcepit imperator defeat.
 " eliminari omnes Latinos ab omni imperio suo. Et sciatis
 " quod per Dei gratiam, de terra Iconii sunt boni Erminii
 " centum² millia, et viginti quinque admirati, parati ire cum
 " Francis ad defensionem Christianitatis, et defensionem et
 " liberationem terræ, in qua natus et mortuus est Dominus
 " Jesus Christus."

Hoveden,
371. a. 22.

His auditis Christiana plebs plurimum gaudebat, Prayers
 fiduciam habens in Domino quod avertet iram et in- offered in
 dignationem Suam ab eis. Fiebat autem sine inter- London for
 missionem oratio ab ecclesia ad Deum pro pace, et pro the deliver-
 deliberatione terræ Jerusalem, et Christianorum capti- ance of
 vorum qui in vinculis Saracenorum detinebantur. Fie- Palestine.
 bat autem singulis diebus in ecclesia Beati Petri³ apud
 Lundonias; dicto a sacerdote, " Pax Domini sit semper
 " vobiscum," antequam " Agnus Dei " inciperetur, sa-
 cerdos vel cantor incepit antiphonam istam, ' Tua est
 " potentia, Tuum regnum, Domine, Tu es super omnes
 " gentes ;" " da pacem in diebus nostris ;" in die Do-
 minica cum isto psalmo, " Quare fremuerunt gentes ?"
 et in die Lunæ cum isto psalmo, " Deus, in Nomine
 " Tuo ;" et in die Martis cum isto, " Deus repulisti ;"
 et in die Mercurii cum isto, " Ut quid Deus repulisti ?"
 et in die Jovis, " Deus, venerunt gentes ;" et in die
 Veneris, " Deus, quis similis erit Tibi ;" et in die Sab-
 bati cum isto psalmo, " Deus ultionum Dominus."
 Dictis psalmo et antiphona prædicta, sequitur " Kyri-
 " eleison ;" " Christeleison ;" " Kyrieleison ;" " Pater
 " noster ;" " Et ne nos inducas ;" " Ostende nobis,

¹ Die vero] Die dominica, Diceto. | ³ Petri] Pauli, Hoveden.² centum] quinque, Diceto.

A.D. 1188.
Prayers for
the deliver-
ance of
palestine.

" Domine, misericordiam;" " Fiat misericordia Tua, Hoveden, 371. a. 34.
" Domine, super nos;" " Domine, non secundum pec-
cata nostra facias nobis;" " Ne memineris, Domine,
" iniquitatumstrarum antiquarum;" " Adjuva nos,
" Deus Salutaris noster;" " Salvum fac populum Tuum,
" Domine;" " Esto eis, Domine, Turris fortitudinis;"
" Nihil proficiat inimicus in eis;" " Fiat pax in virtute
" Tua;" " Domine, Deus virtutum, converte nos;"
" Domine, exaudi orationem meam;" " Dominus vo-
" biscum."

COLLECTA.

to. 125 r. " Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, in Cujus manu sunt Hoveden, 371. a. 34.
" omnium potestates et omnia jura regnorum, respice
" ad Christianorum benignus auxilium, ut gentes quæ
" in sua feritate confidunt potentissæ Tuæ dextera com-
" primantur, per Christum Dominum nostrum."

Margarit
the Sicilian
admiral
shuts the
Saracens in
Acro, from
the sea.

Eodem vero anno quidam vir potens et terra et
mari, natione Sigulus,¹ nomine Margaritus, per auxilium
domini sui Willelmi regis Siciliae, profectus cum quin-
gentis galeis bene munitis, et viris bellicosis, et victu et
armis, in auxilium Christianorum, et vias maris tanta
calliditate obstruxit, quod Sarracenis qui Acram civi-
tatem et cæteras terræ Jerusalem civitates et muni-
tiones circa maritima occupaverant nullus securus pa-
tebat egressus. Contigit autem quadam die quod dum
milites et servientes Saladini veherent arma per mare,
et victualia ad subvectionem filii Saladini et familie
sue qui erant apud Acram, occurrit eis prædictus
Margaritus cum suis; et commisso cum eis prælio, illos
devicit et omnes interfecit.

Saladin
besieges
Antioch.

Interim Saladinus, magno congregato exercitu, pro-
fectus in provinciam Antiochiæ, et multa castella et
munitiones in ea cepit, et Christianos interfecit. Deinde

¹ Sigulus] Siculus.

obsedit civitatem Antiochiæ; et qui intus erant in primis viriliter resistebant; sed postmodum deficiente eis victu, coacti sunt treugas a Saladino petere: et datæ sunt eis treugæ a mense Octobri usque ad quartum decimum¹ mensem proximo subsequentem; ita quod si infra illud spatium non habuerint succursum, redderent Saladino civitatem Antiochiæ, et omnes munitiones ejus; salvis vita et membris.

A.D. 1188.
October.
but makes a
truce with
the inhabit-
ants.

Hoveden,
270. b. 18.

Interim quidam vir religionis, abbas vero magnæ auctoritatis, erat in transmarinis partibus, spiritum prophetiæ habens in multis; qui quotidie in orationibus suis postulabat Dominum Jesum Christum ut ostendere ei dignaretur ad quem exitum rex Angliæ deveniret de guerra, quæ fuit inter illum et regem Franciæ; sequenti autem nocte cum prædictus abbas in lecto suo quiesceret, media nocte jam præterita, apparuit ei in somnis quidam vir religiosus, abbas indutus vestibus albis; et ait illi, "Vide, lege hæc de rege: 'Le-
" 'vavi signum meum super eum; venter uxoris suæ
" 'intumescet contra eum; et in tormento tormentum
" 'patietur, et inter velatas velabitur.'" His dictis, evanuit ab oculis ejus. Et abbas ille expergefactus, audita memoriæ commendabat, considerans eventum rei.

Prophetic
dream of a
certain
abbot.

Interim Henricus Albanensis episcopus cardinalis obiit² in Francia.

Death of
Henry of
Albano.

Audiens itaque Fredericus Romanorum imperator quod nobilis civitas Antiochiæ reddita erat Saladino nisi habuerit celerem succursum; Divina inspirante gratia, ad succurrendum illi totis viribus anhelabat.

The emperor
Frederick
makes pre-
parations
for his cru-
sade.

Hoveden,
270. b. 18,
shorter.

Et sicut virum prudentem et circumspectum decebat, satis provide sibi et itineri suo necessaria præparabat. Inprimis enim reconciliavit se Deo et ecclesiæ, et

¹ *quartum decimum*] The truce was for seven months according to Bohadin, 86; from October to May 1189 according to the statement made above, p. 24.

² The cardinal died at Arras in July. See below, p. 56; Jan. 1, Alb. Trois Font., p. 380.

A.D. 1189. He summons his forces to Regensburg before St. George's day. (April 23, 1189.) Clementi summo pontifici ; et omnes homines suos, scilicet Romanos, Longobardos, Burgundos, Teutonicos, Alemannos, Bauderos, Suavos, Saxones, Alpinos, Ruthenos, Tuscos, et alias nationes imperio Romano subjectas pacificavit, et eos sibi et imperio Romano pacem servaturos jurare fecit. Deinde elegit sibi viros sapientes et in armis militaribus doctos, et sæpius expertos, de omnibus terris suis quos novit probiores ; et adduxit eos secum ad destruendum inimicos Crucis Christi. Et statuit eis terminum conveniendi in unum, apud Ravinsburg,¹ ante festum Sancti Georgii, ita quod parati essent illo die iter Jerosolimitanæ profectionis arripere : et sic unusquisque ad sua reversus est ad præparandum sibi necessaria. Quos autem habebat suspectos, et qui cum illo ire volebant, misit in exilium ; et jurare fecit illos quod non redirent in terram suam antequam anni proximo sequentes præterirent. Unde factum est quod Henricus dux Saxonie nepos suus, qui Matildam filiam Henrici regis Angliæ in uxorem duxerat, missus est in exilium ; sacramento præstito quod non esset rediturus in terram suam infra prædictum terminum.

to. 126 v.

He sends Henry the Lion into exile.

He asks the emperor of Constantinople for a passage through his dominions, and makes his son regent.

Death of Henry of Albani.

Deinde idem imperator misit nuncios suos ad Isakium imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, ad habendum saluum conductum transeundi per terram suam ; et alios præmisit nuncios qui præpararent sibi et exercitui suo necessaria in omni loco quo erat ipse venturus.

Deinde tradidit Henrico filio suo, regi Alemannie, imperium suum et omnes alias terras suas custodiendas. Hoveden, 371. a. 2.

Eodem anno obiit Henricus Cardinalis² quondam abbas Clarevallis, apud Arraz in Flandria, et ibi sepultus est.

¹ Frederick's army assembled at Regensburg, Mar. 24, and marched on May 11, 1189. Ansbart, p. 21.

² See above, p. 55.

*Epistola Clementis papæ ad Henricum regem Angliæ pro
Johanne episcopo Sancti Andreae de Scotia.*

A.D. 1188.
Jan. 18.

Hoveden,
388. b. 61.

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, illustri regi
Angliæ, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum ab
apostolica sede preces suscepit regalis excellentiæ auctoritas
et potestas, [quas ecclesiis] in suo statu servandis, et mul-
torum saluti expedit effectui mancipare; diligenter eas de-
bet regia sublimitas exaudire, et tanto fortius et ferventius
intendere, ut effectum consequantur optatum, quanto certius
fuerit quod earum devota susceptio et diligens executio re-
galem [gloriam] respicit pariter et salutem. Hinc est quod
serenitati vestræ, pro venerabili fratre nostro episcopo Sancti
Andreae, litteras apostolicas et preces duximus cum fiducia
destinandas, altitudinem regalis eminentiæ quanta possumus
affectione rogantes, monentes, atque in remissionem pecca-
torum omnium injungentes, quatenus pro reverentia beati
Petri et nostræ, et persecutionis ejus obtentu, quam certum
est ipsum jam longo tempore pertulisse, carissimum in
Christo filium nostrum Willelmum, illustrem regem Scotiæ,
moneas attentius et inducas, et si necesse fuerit, distric-
tione regali qua ei præemines, et concessa tuæ regiæ celsi-
tudini potestate compellas, ut totius indignationis suæ ran-
coorem, quam circa episcopum ipsum concepit, quorundam
malitia susurronum, regiam dignitatem et salubria opera
pietatis attendens, ei qualibet occasione remota condonet,
et diocesim Sancti Andreae, quam de communi fratrum con-
silio et assensu, summus pontifex sibi perpetuo confirmavit,
de cætero ipsum quiete permittat, et absque calumnia pos-
sidere; cum et ipse paratus existat regiæ majestati, prout
fuerit consentaneum rationi, existere in omnibus obediens
et fidelis. Valet."¹

Clement III.
requests
Henry II.
to compel
William the
Lion to sub-
mit to the
decision of
the Holy See
as to the
bishop of
S. Andrews.

*Epistola domini papæ Clementis, universo clero episcopatus
Sancti Andreae in Scotia, pro Johanne episcopo.*

Hoveden,
388. a. 31.

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universo clero
episcopatus Sancti Andreae, salutem et apostolicam benedic-
tionem. Licet in rebus dubiis valeant aliqui suam astutiam
seu malitiam adumbrare; cum tamen scrupulus fuerit et
articulus dubietatis amotus, et manifestis indicibus apparuerint
vestigia veritatis, penitus sunt devia relinquenda et rectitu-

Jan. 18.
Clement III.
writes to
the clergy of
S. Andrews.

¹ Hoveden adds the date, "Datum Pisæ, xviiº. kalendarum Februarii.
"indictione sexta."

- A.D. 1186. "dinis tramites inquirendi pariter et servandi; ne, quod abiit, Hoveden, 389. a. 22.
 Jan. 14. "aliter agentibus, et in sua pertinacia consistentibus, post
*he com-
mands them
to receive
John as
their bishop.* "flagella presentia pœnasque condignas, perpetue mortis
 "interitus et supplicia debeantur æterna. Volentes ergo pæ-
 "terna sollicitudine vestræ saluti prospicere, et utilitatibus et
 "quieti vestræ providere, universitati vestræ per apostolica
 "scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, et in obedientiæ vir-
 "tute injungimus, quatenus infra quindecim dies post harum
 "susceptionem, venerabilem fratrem nostrum Johannem, epi-
 "scopum vestrum, in pontificali officio canonice subrogatum,
 "sicut patrem præcipuum et pastorem suscipiatis humiliter
 "ac devote: et ejus de cætero salubribus monitis et mandatis,
 fo. 136 r. "omni simultate remota, debitam reverentiam impendere mi-
 "nime postponatis. Scientes autem quod [si] postquam Hugo,
 "qui vester olim episcopus dicebatur, per Romanam ecclesiam
 "a vestri episcopatus dignitate fuit amotus, vel post ejus
 "decessum, jam dicto Johanne episcopo vestro superstite, ali-
 "quem fortasse episcopum elegistis, electionem illam aucto-
 "ritate apostolica vacuumus. Si vero, quod avertat [Deus], in
 "eundem episcopum Johannem, inimico humani generis sua-
 "dente, aliquam conspirationem facere præsumpistis, tam
 "vos quam totum episcopatum tamdiu volumus interdicti
 "sententiæ subiacere, donec agnoscentes excessum ad man-
 "datum ipsius Johannis episcopi redeatis. Valet."¹
 Dec. 31. Eodem anno, scilicet ab Incarnatione Domini Hoveden, 371. a. 7.
*Death of the
bishop of
Winchester.* M^{CC}CLXXX^oVIII^o, festo Sancti Thomæ Apostoli, ante
 Nativitatem Domini, Ricardus Wintoniensis episcopus
 obiit.
 The emperor ²Eodem anno Frædericus Romanorum imperator, et
 takes the cross. filius ejus dux Alsatiæ et Sueviæ, et multi duces et
 archiepiscopi et episcopi, et comites, et barones, de
 terris eorum, crucem acceperunt.

Henricus rex crucem accepit.

- Jan. 31. ³Similiter Philippus rex Franciæ et Henricus rex
*Philip and
Henry take
the cross.* Angliæ, die Sanctæ Agnetis acceperunt crucem, in col-

¹ "Datum Pise, xvii^o. kalenda-
 "rum Februarii, indictione sexta."
 Add. Hoved.

² Here follows a résumé of the
 events of the year, which have been

already described at length, corre-
 sponding with the similar epitome
 at the end of the year 1186.

³ See above, p. 30.

loquio suo inter Gisortium et Trie, de manu archiepi- A.D. 1102.
scopi de Tyro.

¹ Eodem anno multi tam archiepiscopi, episcopi, prin- Zeal for the
cipes, comites, barones diversarum regionum crucem crusade.
acceperunt, sicut inferius notatum est.

² Eodem anno post captionem crucis, Henricus rex Henry goes
Angliæ, de Normannia rediit in Angliam; sed paulo from Nor-
post de Anglia rediit in Normanniam, propter exces- mandy to
sus et injurias quas rex Franciæ, et Ricardus comes England
Pictavensis ei faciebant. and back.

³ Eodem anno nobilis villa Beverlacensis, cum ecclesia Beverley
Sancti Johannis de Beverlaco, et cum domibus archi- burnt.
episcopi et fere cum omnibus ecclesiis villæ illius, tota
combusta est. Similiter multæ civitates et villæ per
Angliam combustæ sunt.

⁴ Eodem anno civitas Rothomagensis in maxima Rouen
parte, et aliæ civitates per Normanniam combustæ burnt.
sunt.

Eodem anno exstitit magnus segetum defectus, fere Bad harvest.
per universum mundum; ita quod in sequenti sætate
multi fame perierunt.

⁵ Eodem anno rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ destrux- Saladin
erunt terras suas transmarinas et cismarinas, tam per tithe.
guerras quam per decimas a sæculo inauditas, et alia
gravamina quæ eis fecerant.

⁶ Eodem anno Philippus rex Franciæ succidit ulmum Philip cuts
in terra sua quæ erat inter Gisortium et Trie; ubi down the
colloquia frequenter habebantur de antiqua institu- film of con-
tione prædecessorum suorum inter ipsos et duces Nor- ference.
manniæ.

Hoveden,
371. a. 40.

Eodem anno Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepisco- Archbishop
pus, veniens de Normannia in Angliam, saisavit in Baldwin
manu sua, per regis potentiam, prioratum Cantuarien- seizes the
sis ecclesiæ. Et expulsis monachis officialibus ab officiis priorate of
Canterbury.

¹ See above, p. 30.

² See above, p. 40.

³ See above, p. 50.

⁴ See above, p. 50.

⁵ See above, p. 30.

⁶ See above, p. 47.

A.D. 1188. eorum, servientes suos loco illorum substituit, et monachis victualia denegavit.

The prior
dies at
Rome.

Eodem anno prior Cantuariensis¹ ecclesiæ Romam profectus pro liberatione domus suæ, obiit Romæ cum monachis suis qui secum erant. Hoveden, 371. a. 43.

Death of
Henry, elect
of Dol.

Eodem anno Henricus² filius Roberti filii Harding, decanus de Meretona, electus ad archiepiscopatum de Dol in Britannia, et Romam profectus ad consecrandum, ibidem interiit.

Richard
joins the
king of
France.

³ Eodem anno Ricardus comes Pictavensis, relicto rege Angliæ patre suo, adhæsit regi Franciæ, et homo suus devenit, contra voluntatem et prohibitionem regis patris sui, de Normannia, et Aquitannia, et Canomannia et Berria. Et rex Franciæ reddidit ei Castrum Radulfi verbo tantum et non opere.

The bishop
of Durham
reinstates
the monks.

Eodem anno Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, accepta cruce, reddidit priori et monachis Dunelmi curam et custodiam prioratus Dunelmensis, quam in manu sua fere per biennium tenuerat. Hoveden, 371. a. 45.

Death of
Hugh of
S. Andrews.
fo. 136 v.

Eodem anno Hugo, quondam dictus episcopus Sancti Andreæ in Scotia, depositus ab illo episcopatu per Clementem papam, et ab eo excommunicatus, Romamque profectus, ibidem obiit.

Cross seen
in the air at
Dunstable.

⁴ Eodem anno crux quædam longa et lata apparuit in cæli nubibus apud Dunstable in Anglia, videntibus multis: et Dominus noster Jesus Christus visus est in ea clavis confixus: et plagæ ejus visæ sunt manare sanguine, sed non cecidit super terram.

War be-
tween
England
and France.

Eodem anno mortalis guerra orta est inter regem Franciæ, et regem Angliæ; unde terræ eorum in magna parte destructæ sunt.

Henry
spends
Christmas
of 1188-9 at

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M^oC^oLXXX^oIX^o, qui est annus xxxv^{us} et ultimus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus, moram faciens in Hoveden, 371. b. 23.
H. Paris, 148, 41.

¹ Honorius. See Memorials of Richard I. ii. 234, 269.

² See above, p. 44.

³ See above, p. 50.

⁴ See above, p. 47.

Hoveden,
371. b. 34.
M. Paris,
148, 48.

transmarinis partibus propter infestationes quas Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, filius ejus, et Philippus rex Franciæ ei faciebant. Fuit enim die Nativitatis Dominicæ, quæ die Dominica evenit, in Andegavia apud Saufurin : et sollemne festum ibi tenuit ; licet quamplures de comitibus et baronibus suis eum reliquissent, et Ricardo filio suo et regi Franciæ adhæsisent.

A.D. 1188.
Saumur in
Anjou.

Hoveden,
371. b. 38.
M. Paris,
148, 48.

Post festum vero Sancti Hylarii, disruptis treugis quæ erant inter regem Angliæ et regem Franciæ, ipse rex Franciæ et comes Ricardus Pictaviæ, congregatis exercitibus suis, intraverunt in terras regis Angliæ et devastabant eas in quantum poterant. Sed et Britones [relicto] rege Angliæ, adhærentes regi Franciæ et comiti Ricardo, infestabant eum pro posse suo.

A.D. 1189.
After
Jan. 13.
Philip and
Richard
invade the
territories
of Henry.

Hoveden,
371. a. 48.
M. Paris,
148, 48.

Clemens autem papa, admirans quod pax nondum fieret inter reges prædictos, misit Johannem¹ de Anagnino cardinalem cum plena potestate, ad litem dirimendam inter eos. Qui cum venisset ad eos, et illos nunc asperis nunc blandis ad pacem inter illos faciendam commovisset, ipsi reges, Divina inspirante gratia, cautionem præstiterunt standi judicio prædicti cardinalis, et domini Remensis, et domini Bituricensis, et domini Rothomagensis et domini Cantuariensis archiepiscoporum ; ita [quod] si quis prædictorum regum judicio eorundem stare noluerit, quo minus pax inter eos reformaretur et iter Jerosolimitanæ [profectionis] expediretur ; in eum tanquam in Dominicæ ac vivificæ Crucis, et totius Christianæ religionis inimicum, ex auctoritate domini papæ sententiam excommunicationis anathematis tulerit in omnes, tam clericos quam laicos, per quos staret quominus pax fieret inter prædictos reges ; exceptis personis eorundem regum tantummodo.

Clement III.
sends John
of Anagni
to enforce
peace
between
Henry and
Philip.

Hoveden,
371. b. 48,
shorter.

Interim Fredericus Romanorum imperator, magno

¹ John dei Conti di Segni of Anagni, cardinal priest of S. Mark.

A.D. 1188.
The emperor collects his forces and marches from Regensburg on April 23.

Henry the Lion is forced to return to England.

congregato exercitu Teuthonicorum et Longobardorum et Alemannorum et aliarum multarum gentium, die Sancti Georgii recedens a civitate sua de Rainesburc, iter Jerosolimitanæ profectionis arripuit, transitum facturus per terram imperatoris Constantinopolis. Omnes enim principes imperii sui, qui secum ire volebant, fecit jurare quod irent in exilium non redituri ante finem trium annorum proximo subsequentium. Unde factum est quod Henricus dux Saxonie, gener Henrici regis Angliæ, in exilium missus, eo quod ipse cum imperatore ire noluit, nec filium suum primogenitum cum eo ire permittere voluit sine consilio regis Angliæ avi sui, venit in Angliam; et non invento rege, transfretavit ad eum de Anglia in Normanniam.

Prædictus imperator Romanorum, multo tempore antequam de sua terra exiret, præmisit litteras suas Saladino in hac forma.

Epistola Frederici Romanorum imperatoris ad Saladinum regem Babylonis.

A.D. 1188.
Challenge of the emperor Frederick to Saladin.

no. 127 r.

“Fredericus, Dei gratia Romanorum imperator et semper Augustus, et hostium imperii magnificus triumphator, Saladino præsidi Saracenorum, quondam illustri exemplo Pharaonis fugere Jerusalem. Devotionis tue litteras multis retro temporibus ad nos destinatas super arduis negotiis, tibi quidem si [fides] verbis subfuisset profuturis, prout majestatis nostræ decuit magnificentiam tuam suscepimus, et epistolarumstrarum alloquiis magnitudini tue consulere [dignum] duximus. Nunc vero quia Terram Sanctam prophanasti, cui æterni Regis imperamus imperio, in tanti sceleris presumptuosam et plectibilem audaciam debita animadversione decernere imperialis officii sollicitudo nos admonet. Quamobrem nisi occupatam terram Judææ, Samaritæ et Palæstinorum ante omnia restituas, adjuncta satisfactione sacris constitutionibus pro tam nefariis excessibus tarata: ne minime legitimum videamur querere bellum, a capite kalendarum Novembris anno Incarnationis Dominicæ M^oC^oLXXX^oVIII^o. evoluti anni spatio, terminum præstituimus, ad experiendam belli fortunam in Campo Taneos in virtute vivificæ crucis et in nomine veri Joseph. Vix enim [credere] possumus hoc te latere, quod ex scriptis veterum, et historiis antiquis

Hoveden, 578, b. 21.
R. de Diceto, c. 640.
Itin. R. Ric i. 12.

Hoveden,
379. b. 22.

" nostri temporis [factum] redolet. Numquid scire dissimulas
 " ambas Æthiopias, Mauritaniam,¹ Persiam, Syriam, Parthiam
 " ubi Marci Crassi nostri dictatoris facta sunt præmaturata,
 " Judæam, Samariam, Maritimam, Arabiam, Chaldæam? ipsam
 " quoque Ægyptum, ubi, proh dolor, civis Romanus Antonius
 " vir insignis, virtute præditus, citra nitorem temperantiæ, et
 " secus quam decebat militem a tanto rerum culmine emissum,
 " minus sobrius Cleopatras inserviebat amoribus? Numquid
 " etiam scire dissimulas Armeniam, innumerabiles et insupera-
 " biles alias terras nostræ ditioni subjectas? norunt hæc reges
 " quorum cruore gladii Romani sunt crebrius inebriati, et tu
 " quidem in ipsa rerum experientia Deo auctore intelliges, quid
 " [possint] nostræ victrices aquilæ, quid cohortes diversarum
 " nationum, quid furor Teutonicus etiam in pace arma capes-
 " sens, quid caput indomitum Rheni, quid juvenus quæ fugam
 " nunquam novit, quid procerus Bavarus, quid Suavus astutus,
 " quid Francia circumspecta, quid Anglia provida et inge-
 " niosa, quid Albania, quid Cambria, quid in gladio ludens
 " Saxonia, quid Turingia, quid Westfallia, quid agilis Bra-
 " bantia, quid nescia pacis Lotharingia, quid inquieta Bur-
 " gundia, quid Alpini salices, quid Frisonia in amento præ-
 " volans, quid Reemia ultro mori gaudens; quid Boemia suis
 " feris ferior, quid Austria, quid Friscia, quid Ruthonia, quid
 " partes Illicæ, quid Leobardia, quid Tuscia, quid Anconi-
 " tana Marchia, quid Venetus proretha,² quid Pisanus nau-
 " clerus, denique quid dextera nostra, quam senio arguis
 " effetam, gladio vibrare didicit,—dies illa [plena lætitiæ et]
 " reverentiæ et jocunditatis Christi præfixa te docebit."

A.D. 1168.
The chal-
lenge of the
emperor
Frederick to
Bladin.

Hoveden,
379. a. 9.

Interim Willelmus Scotorum rex, convocatis episcopis
 et principibus terræ suæ in villa de Perth, dedit epi-
 scopatum Sancti Andreæ cancellario suo Rogero,³ filio
 Roberti comitis Leicestræ, præsentem Johanne Dunkel-
 densi episcopo et non contradicente, licet prædictus
 Johannes ad eundem episcopatum fuisset canonice
 electus et consecratus, et a tribus papis, scilicet Alex-
 andro, Urbano, Clemente, confirmatus, et licet tunc in

A.D. 118
The blair
ric of S. /
draws giv
to Roger
Beaumont

¹ *Mauritaniam*] *Mauritiam*, B.

² *proretha*] *pirotans*, B.

³ Although Roger was appointed
to the see of S. Andrews in this
year, he was not consecrated until

the first Sunday in Lent, 1199.
Hoveden, 440. He was the son of
earl Robert the justiciar, who died
in 1168.

A.D. 1188. præsentī litteras Clementis papæ habuisset in hac forma.

“ Epistola domini Clementis papæ.

A.D. 1188.
Jan. 16.
Clement
III. orders
the bishops
of Glasgow,
Aberdeen
and Moray,
fo. 137 v.
and the
abbots of
Melrose,
Newbottle,
Holyrood,
Stirling and
Scone, to go
to the king
of Scotland,
and induce
him to be
reconciled
with bishop
John.

“ Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fra- Hoveden,
220. a. 50.
tribus Jocelino Glascoensi, et Matthæo Abredensi, et Ricardo
“ Morefensi episcopis, et dilectis filiis Arnulfo de Melros, et Hu-
“ goni de Neubotel, et de Sancta Cruce, de Strivelin et de Scone
“ abbatibus, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ad ea quas
“ respiciunt honestatem, et salutem pariunt animarum, quamvis
“ absque monitis intendere debeat, et diligentem operam juxta
“ vestri officii debitum vos credamus tribuere; vestram tamen
“ diligentiam ad majorem in his sollicitudinem exhibendam litte-
“ ris apostolicis duximus exhortandum, ut eisdem operibus laude
“ dignis tanto ferventius insistatis quanto vobis salubrius erit
“ in ipsis ad exhortationem apostolicam exactiorem diligentiam
“ adhibere. Constat itaque quosdam ecclesiarum prælatos cum
“ iis qui scandalizati fuerunt, debere pati juxta normam apo-
“ stolicam, ustionem, et cum infirmantibus infirmari. Quantas
“ vero persecutiones his temporibus sustinuerit ecclesia Sancti
“ Andreæ, quantas calamitates incurrerit et pressuras, quam
“ etiam graviter hactenus fuerit perturbata sub umbra¹ indig-
“ nationis regis celsitudinis et quassata; insuper venerabilis
“ frater noster Johannes episcopus Sancti Andreæ, quot et
“ quanta pericula sustinuerit et labores, pro servanda libertate
“ ecclesiæ sibi commissæ, et ei a nobis et duobus prædecessoribus
“ nostris confirmatæ, cum ea omnia sint vobis mani-
“ festa, illa vestris auribus inculcare supervacuum videtur.
“ Nunc igitur quoniam plurimum expedire dinoscitur ut de
“ salute regis et statu præscriptæ ecclesiæ reformando, atque
“ pace ipsi episcopo conferenda, nos convenit sollicitudinem
“ gerere congruentem, et circumspeditionem vestram ad cor-
“ roborandum nobis idoneum reputamus; discretionis vestræ per
“ apostolica scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus
“ post susceptionem litterarum nostrarum, convenientes in
“ unum, sicut decet viros providos et discretos, carissimi filii
“ nostri Willelmi illustris regis Scotiæ præsentiam adeatis, et
“ eum moneatis diligentius, et instantius inducat, ut epi-
“ scopo memorato rancorem indignationis suæ remittat, et in
“ hoc Romanam ecclesiæ, quæ serenitati regis jam longo
“ tempore detulit, non contemnat; sed ejus et vestris monitis,

¹ umbra] om. B.

Hoveden,
288. h. 22.

“ prout regis gloriæ convenit et saluti, sine dilatione salubri-
 “ ter pareat et humiliter adquiescat; ac ipsum episcopum dio-
 “ cesim Sancti Andreae in pace permittat habere, cum ex do-
 “ bito regis dignitatis ecclesias teneatur cum pastoribus suis
 “ non dispergere sed fovere, non contemnere sed amare, non
 “ persequi sed tueri. Quod si monitis apostolicis in propriæ
 “ salutis periculum, quod absit, duxerit resistendum, in reg-
 “ num suæ celsitudinis et personam suam et omnes fautores
 “ suos regios nunciis interdicti sententiam, infra viginti dies
 “ sine appellationis obstaculo, auctoritate apostolica a vobis
 “ promulgandam; illos insuper qui Hugoni obedientes ex-
 “ stiterunt, et ei fomentum in sua obstinatione dederunt, post-
 “ quam sedes apostolica a diocesi Sancti Andreae removit
 “ perpetuo, et excommunicationis sententiam in ipsum pro-
 “ mulgavit, simili sententia percellatis; et publice nuncios
 “ eos excommunicationi subesse tamdiu faciatis, et ab aliis
 “ arctius evitari, donec ad mandatum ecclesiæ revertantur ab-
 “ solutionis beneficium ab eodem episcopo petitori. Ad hæc
 “ altaribus et calicibus, in quibus jam dictus Hugo dum esset in
 “ excommunicatione positus celebravit, purificationem juxta
 “ consuetudinem ecclesiæ conferatis. Ad ecclesiam quoque
 “ Sancti Andreae pariter accedatis, et fratribus convocatis
 “ in unum, intretis capitulum, et de ordinatione et statu ec-
 “ clesiæ diligentius inquiratis, et si quid in eandem ecclesiam
 “ per supradictum Hugonem immutatum inveneritis vel sta-
 “ tutum, auctoritate nostra id in statum debitum inducatis.
 “ Et si quid in ipsa ecclesia fuerit corrigendum, efficaciter
 “ studeatis id in melius reformare: si vero, quod absit, aliquos
 “ ex canonicis ad recipiendum humiliter et devote pastorem
 “ suum prædictum duos inveneritis et rebelles, eos instantius
 “ moneatis, ut illi reverentiam et obedientiam patri debitam
 “ exhibeant, et a maligno atque damnabili proposito suo de-
 “ sistant. Quod si contumaces extiterint, eos ab officio suo
 “ pariter et beneficio suspendatis, et excommunicationis vinculo
 “ innodetis, qua ipsos faciatis manere ligatos donec monitis
 “ et mandatis ecclesiasticis acquiescant. Quod si omnes his
 “ exsequendis interesse nequiveritis, reliqui ea nihilominus
 “ exsequantur.”¹

A.D. 1188.
Jan. 16.
The pope
orders them
to compel
the king to
comply.The acts
of bishop
Hugh are to
be annulled.

fo. 128 r.

Hoveden,
279. a. 11.

Dato itaque episcopatu Sancti Andreae Rogero filio
 comitis Leicestræ, Willelmus rex Scottorum dedit

Hugh of
Roxburgh
made chan-

¹ “Datum Pisæ, xvii^o. kal. Fe- | Hoveden. If this date is correct,
 “ bruarii, Indictione sexta.” Add. | the letter belongs to 1188.

A.D. 1188. cancellariam suam Hugoni de Rokesburga¹ clerico
cellor of suo.

Conference
at la Verté
Bernard
between
Philip,
Henry, and
Richard,
about Whit-
suntide
(May 28).

²Interim adveniente Pentecoste, Philippus rex Franciæ, et Henricus rex Angliæ, et Ricardus comes Pictavensis, et Johannes de Anagnio cardinalis, et archiepiscopi et episcopi et comites et barones de regno Franciæ, et ex parte regis Angliæ Walterus Rotomagensis archiepiscopus, et episcopi Normanniæ et Andegaviæ et Ceno-
manniæ, et Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus, et Gaufridus Eliensis episcopus, et Gillebertus Rofensis et Hugo Cestrensis episcopi, et multi comites et barones de regno Angliæ et de Normannia convenerunt in hebdomada Pentecostes juxta Feritatem Bernardi, ad pacem faciendam inter prædictos reges. In quo colloquio rex Franciæ petiit Alesiam sororem suam, quam rex Angliæ in custodia habuit, donari Ricardo comiti Pictavensi in uxorem; et aliquam securitatem sibi fieri de regno Angliæ habendo post decessum patris sui: et ut Johannes frater illius crucem susciperet Jerosolimam iturus.

Hoveden,
371. b. 51,
shorter.
M. Paris,
149, 22.

Philip de-
mands the
recognition
of Richard
as successor
to Henry in
England.

Richard in-
sists that
John shall
go on the
crusade:
Henry re-
fuses.

Et hoc idem petebat comes Ricardus fieri sibi; dicebat enim quod ipse nullo modo Jerosolimam iret, nisi Johannes frater suus cum eo venisset. Et quia rex Angliæ has petitiones regis Franciæ et comitis Ricardi facere nolebat, discordes ab invicem discesserunt.

John of
Anagni
threatens an
interdict.

In eodem colloquio Johannes de Anagnio cardinalis asserebat, quod nisi rex Franciæ cum rege Anglorum ad plenum componeret, totam terram suam sententiæ excommunicationis subjaceret. Cui rex Franciæ respondit, quod sententiam suam non timeret nec teneret, cum nulla æquitate niteretur. Dicebat enim quod non per-

Hoveden,
372. a. 6,
shorter.
M. Paris
149, 46.

¹ This Hugh of Roxburgh was elected to the see of Glasgow in 1199, and died the same year, July 6. *Chron. Mailr.*

² From this point or a little earlier (p. 60), Roger of Wendover,

who is followed by Matthew Paris, begins to draw from our Chronicle. Occasional references will be found in the margin to the edition of M. Paris by Wats, 1640.

Hoveden,
372. a. 12,
M. Paris,
120, 42.

tinēt ad ecclesiam Romanam in regnum Franciæ per sententiam vel alio modo animadvertere, si rex Franciæ homines suos demeritos et regno rebelles, causa injurias suas et coronæ dedecus ulciscendi, insurgit. Adjecit etiam quod prænominatus cardinalis jam sterlingos regis olfecerat.

A.D. 1189.
Philip con-
temns the
threat.

Hoveden,
372. a. 12,
M. Paris,
120, 42.

Et sic finito colloquio, Philippus rex Franciæ inde recedens cepit Feritatem Bernardi; deinde Montem Fortem; deinde Malum Stabulum, deinde Bellum Montem, deinde Balun, ubi trium dierum moram post captiōnem illam fecit. Deinde Cenomannum veniens die Dominica, fingens se Turonim iturum, proxima die Lunæ,¹ cum rex Angliæ et sui securi esse viderentur de ulteriori processu regis Franciæ, rex Franciæ disposuit acies suas insultum facturum in civitatem. Quod videns Stephanus de Turonis, senescallus Andegaviæ, ignem suburbio imposuit. Ignis vero statim accensus in immensum muros transvolans urbem accendit. Quod videntes Franci, ad pontem quendam lapideum venerunt, ubi Gaufridus de Bruilhun et multi cum eo, ex parte regis Angliæ, eis occurrerunt, volentes pontem diruere; ubi multus factus est conflictus; et magna pars hinc et inde in illo conflictu gladio interempta est. In illo autem conflictu prædictus Gaufridus captus est et in crure vulneratus, et multi alii de exercitu regis Angliæ capti sunt, et cæteri incontinenti in fugam conversi sunt, volentes se in civitatem recipere. Sed Franci una cum illis civitatem ingressi sunt. Quod videns rex Angliæ, de se desperans, et contra promissum suum veniens, cum septingentis militibus aufugit. Promiserat enim civibus illius civitatis quod non recederet ab eis, tum ea ratione quia pater suus ibi quiescebat; tum ea ratione quia ibi natus fuerat, et civitatem illam plus cæteris diligebat. Rex vero Franciæ per tria millia insecutus est eum;

June.
Philip takes
la Ferté
Bernard,
Montfort,
Maletable,
Beaumont,
and Ballon,
and sur-
prises Henry
at Le Mans
(on June 12).

Burning of
the town.

fo. 133 v.

Flight of
Henry.

¹ The morrow of S. Barnabas. R. de Diceto, 644. Cf. Giraldus de Inst. Fr. iii. 24.

A.D. 1189.
June 12.
Flight of
Henry.

et nisi vadum per quod transitum Franci fecerunt altum esset in immensum, alios sub tanta celeritate insecuti essent fugientes, quod sicut publice asseritur, omnes capti essent. In illa autem fuga multi Walenses interfecti sunt.¹

Hoveden,
572. a. 26.
M. Paris,
156, 26.

Henry flies
to Chinon.

Rex autem Angliæ cum paucis suorum venit usque Chinonem, et ibi se in munitionem recepit. Residui vero qui remanserunt de familia regis Angliæ, in turrin Cenomanensis se receperunt. Statimque rex Franciæ turrin obsedit; et tum per effosores suos, tum per machinarum suarum insultus, tandem infra tertium diem dedita est turris cum triginta militibus et sexaginta servientibus.

Hoveden,
572. a. 26.
M. Paris,
156, 27.

The citadel
of Le Mans
surrenders.

Philip takes
Montlouis-
bleau.

Geoffrey of
Vendôme
wounded.

Inde recedens cepit Duplicem Montem per deditionem tam castri quam domini. Cum enim vicecomes Castellum Dunni, hujus subversionis occasio, immo causa præcipua, in insidiis Gaufrido Vindocinensi comiti armatus inermi occurreret; et adeo graviter eum vulneravit vicecomes quod in primis de vita ejus desperatum est; sed per Dei gratiam plenius convalescit. Rex autem Franciæ eo ipso gravius factum istud ferebat, quia prædictus vicecomes regi Franciæ astrictus tenebatur, quod nullum suorum vel in eundo vel in redeundo læderet vel gravaret dum esset in obsidione Cenomanensi.

Hoveden,
572. a. 26.
M. Paris,
156, 27.

¹ Henry arrived the same night at Frenelles. (Gir. Camb. de Inst., Pr. iii. 25; and Vit. Galfr. Ebor., i. 4.) From Frenelles he went the next morning to Angers, and sent his son Geoffrey the chancellor with his forces to Alençon. Geoffrey seems to have returned and overtaken his father "apud Savigniacum." We next find Henry at Saumur on the 2nd of July. Tours was taken on the 3rd. The conference of Azai is said to have taken place on the

28th of June (R. de Diceto, 645). Giraldus, however, places it on the 30th. Henry was shut up in Azai until he had submitted, and then removed in a litter to Chinon, where he died on the 6th of July. So far as I can see, the chronology of the fortnight is in inextricable confusion. If Matthew Paris is right in saying that Henry died within three days of his submission, the treaty of Azai could not have been concluded until July 4.

Hoveden,
372. a. 42.
M. Paris,
150, 52.

Inde recedenti redditum est castrum Troe, cum
Rupibus Episcopi, et Montorium, et Carceris Castrum,
et castrum de Leir, et castrum Calvi Montis, et cas-
trum Ambasiæ, et castrum de Rupibus Carbonis. Tan-
dem in septimana sequenti post festum Nativitatis
Beati Johannis, feria sexta, scilicet in crastino apo-
stolorum Petri et Pauli, Turonis venit.¹

A.D. 1162.
June.
Philip takes
Tours, les
Roches,
Montoire,
Chartre,
Château
du Loir,
Chauumont,
Amboise,
Rochecon-
bon, and
comes to
Tours June
30.

Hoveden,
372. a. 47,
shorter.
M. Paris,
150, 55.

Die Dominica proxima sequenti, Philippus comes
Flandriæ, et Willelmus archiepiscopus Remensis, et
Hugo² dux Burgundiæ, ad regem Angliæ, qui tunc
temporis apud Saumur erat, potius de sua quam de
regia voluntate, ad componendum inter eos accesserunt.
Rex vero Franciæ illis prædixerat antequam iter arri-
perent, quod nihilominus a castro Sancti Martini, in
quo per vadum Ligeris se receperat, in civitatem fac-
turus esset assultum.

July 2.
The count
of Flanders
and duke of
Burgundy
go to Sau-
mur to per-
suade Henry
to terms.

Hoveden,
372. a. 52.
M. Paris,
151, 5.

Proxima autem die Lunæ, circiter tertiam, ex parte
Ligeris præ modicitate aquæ in immensum arctati et
contracti, scalis muro appositis, per vim capta est civi-
tas, et in ea octoginta milites et centum servientes
capti sunt. Proh dolor! ex una parte Pictavi præten-
debant regi Angliæ domino suo insidias; et ex alia
parte Britones qui regi Franciæ dediti fuerant, et ab
eo litteras patentes habebant impetratas, quod ipse
nullatenus cum rege Angliæ componeret, nisi cum pace
dimissi fuerint Brittones. Rex vero Angliæ in arcto
positus, pacem fecit cum Philippo rege Franciæ in
hunc modum;³

July 3.
Philip takes
Tours.

Henry
agrees to
peace.

¹ If this date is correct, and it seems consistent with the other details, Rigord is a week wrong in his computation. He places the arrival of Philip at Tours on Saturday, June 23.

² Hugh III., 1162-1192.

³ Hoveden prefaces his copy of this settlement with the following words: "Convenerunt igitur prædicti rex Franciæ, et rex Angliæ,

"et Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, cum archiepiscopis et episcopis, comitibus et baronibus suis, circa festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ad colloquium inter Turonim et "Azai," 372. b. Rigord gives the exact date July 4, and the place of meeting Colombières, near Villandri, on the Cher. R. Diceto places it on the 28th of June, c. 645.

A.D. 1199. July 4. Henry accepts the terms offered by Philip;	" Henricus rex Angliæ ex toto posuit se in consilio " et voluntate Philippi regis Franciæ, ita quod quic- " quid rex Franciæ provideret et judicaret, rex An- " gliæ hoc totum faceret modis omnibus et sine con- " traditione. Tunc vero prædictus rex Angliæ iterum " fecit homagium regi Franciæ, quia ipse, ut supra " diximus, reddiderat regem Franciæ dominum suum; " et rex Franciæ reddiderat ei in principio treugæ " hujus homagium suum. Tunc provisum est a rege " Franciæ, quod Alesia soror ejus, quam rex Angliæ " in custodia habuit, reddita esset, et tradita in cus- " todia unius de quinque quos comes Ricardus ele- " gerit. Deinde providit rex Franciæ, quod per sacra- " mentum hominum terræ assecuratum esset quod " prædicta soror sua tradita sit comiti Ricardo in re- " versione sua de Jerusalem; et quod comes Ricardus " habebit fidelitates hominum de terris patris sui, citra " mare et ultra. Et nullus baronum vel miles qui in " hac guerra a rege Angliæ recessit, et ad comitem " Ricardum venit, de cætero redibit ad regem Angliæ, " nisi in ultimo mense ante motionem regis versus " Jerusalem. Et terminus motionis erit in media " Quadragesima; ita quod prædicti reges et Ricardus " comes Pictavensis erunt ad illum terminum apud " Wezeliacum. Et omnes burgenses de dominiciis vil- " lis regis Angliæ erunt quieti in tota terra regis " Franciæ per rectas consuetudines suas, et non im- " placitabuntur de ulla re, nisi forisfecerint in felo- " nia. Et rex Angliæ dabit regi Franciæ viginti " millia marcarum argenti. Et omnes barones regis " Angliæ jurabunt, quod si rex Angliæ noluerit has " conventiones tenere, quod ipsi tenebunt cum rege " Franciæ et comite Ricardo, et eos adjuvabunt pro " posse suo contra regem Angliæ. Et rex Franciæ et " comes Ricardus tenebunt in manu sua civitatem " Cenomanensis, et civitatem Turonis, et castellum de " Lair, et castellum de Trou; vel si rex Angliæ ma- " luerit, rex Franciæ et comes Ricardus tenebunt cas-	Hoveden, 872. b. 2. M. Paris, 151. a.
does homage;		
promises to give up Alesia,		
to be mar- ried to Richard.		
to. 129 r. Richard is to receive the fealty of his father's barons.		
The kings are to meet at Veselai for the crusade in Lent 1199.		
Henry is to pay 20,000 marks.		
The barons are to swear to keep Henry to these terms.		
Richard and Philip are to hold certain castles in pledge.		

Hoveden,
572. b. 26.
M. Paris,
151, 26.

" tellum de Gisortio et castellum de Pasci, et castellum
" de Nonencurt, tamdiu donec omnia fiunt quæ divisa
" sunt superius per regem Franciæ."

A.D. 1189.
July 4.

Obiit autem rex Angliæ Henricus, anno ab Incarna-
tione Domini nostri Jesu Christi M^oC^oLXXX^oIX^o, mense
Julii,¹ pridie nonas ejusdem mensis, in octavis aposto-
lorum Petri et Pauli, Luna xix., feria quinta, apud
Chinonem. Et sepultus est apud Fontem Eboraudi, in
abbatia ibidem Deo servientium monialium.

July 6.
Death of
Henry II.,
and his
burial.

M. Paris,
151, 41.

In crastino autem obitus illius, cum portaretur ad
sepeliendum vestitus regio apparatu, gestans coronam
auream in capite, et habens chirothecas [in] manus et
annulum aureum in digito, et sceptrum in manu, et
calceamenta auro texta, et calcaria in pedibus, cinctus
gladio, jacebat habens vultum discoopertum. Quod cum
nunciatum esset Ricardo comiti filio suo, festinanter

July 7.
Lying in
state.

Hoveden,
572. b. 26,
shorter.

venit obviam ei. Et illo superveniente, statim ma-
navit sanguis de naribus regis defuncti, ac si indigna-
retur spiritus ejus de adventu illius. Tum prædictus
comes flens et ejulans, processit cum corpore patris sui
usque ad Fontem Eboraudi, et ibi illud sepeliri fecit.

The corpse
bleeds in
the presence
of Richard.

Hoveden,
572. a. 1.
M. Paris,
151, 4.

Itaque sepulto rege, prædictus comes Pictavensis
statim iniecit manus in Stephanum de Turonis² senes-
callum Andegaviæ, et mittens eum in carcerem, gra-
vibus compedibus et manicis ferreis catenatum, exige-
bat castella et thesauros regis patris sui, quos ipse in
custodia habuit.

Richard im-
prisons the
steward of
Anjou;

Et uxorem filii prædicti Stephani, propter ignobili-
tatem mariti, ab ipso separari fecit et alii marito dari;

and sepa-
rates his so
from his
wife.

¹ *Julii*] Junii, B. Hoveden here gives a circumstantial account of Henry's death, which agrees in some measure with that given by Giraldus Cambrensis. De Inst. Pr., p. 148.

² Stephen de Turnham, called by Richard of Devizes, Stephen de

Marzai, seneschal of Anjou (p. 6), the companion of Richard on the crusade (Itiner., 299, 337), was sheriff of Wilts and justice in eyre, 10 Rich. I. He was the founder of Combwell abbey, and brother of Robert de Turnham, of whom we hear so much later.

A.D. 1188. minans se hujusmodi nobilium puellarum vel viduarum
July. cum ignobilibus contubernia sua auctoritate secundum
leges separare.

Eodem anno, circa idem tempus quo Henricus rex
Angliæ, obiit Matildis [ducissa]¹ Saxonie filia ejus. Hoveden,
292. a. 14.

Richard's
treatment of
his father's
servants.

Prædictus vero comes Ricardus Pictavensis honorifice Hoveden,
292. b. 4.
M. Paris,
122, 10.
retinuit omnes servientes regis patris sui, quos fideles
esse noverat, et qui fideliter servierant patri suo; et
illis reddidit servitia sua, quæ longo tempore fecerant
patris sui, unicuique secundum meritum suum. Illos
autem tam clericos quam laicos, qui relicto patre suo,
illi adhæserunt, odiosos habuit, et a familiaritate sua
alienos fecit.

He seized
the estates
of three
traitors.

Unde factum est quod cum Guido de Valle junior,
et Radulfus de Fulgeriis, et Juellus de Maena,² qui
relicto patre suo rege illi adhæserunt, petissent ab eo
terras suas et castella in recompensatione servitii sui,
et ipse reddidisset eis omnia quæ petebant, quæ rex
pater ejus in vita sua propter eorum nequitias ab eis
abstulerat; statim in eodem momento [dis]saisivit eos
de omnibus illis quæ ipse eis reddiderat; dicens quod
proditores, qui³ tempore necessitatis dominos suos re-
linquunt, et aliis contra illos auxilia præstant, talem
debent inde recipere remunerationem.

A. 120 v.

Richard
receives his
brother
John with
honour.

Defuncto itaque rege et sepulto, Johannes filius M. Paris
122, 15.
ejus, qui mortis sue occasio, immo causa præcipua
fuerat, eo quod illum tempore guerræ, cum capta esset
civitas Cenomannis, reliquerat, et inimicis suis adhæse-
rat, venit ad comitem Ricardum fratrem suum, et ab
ipso honorifice est susceptus.

¹ ducissa] om. R. She died
June 28. Chron. Stedensburg, ap.
Leibnitz, Scr. Rer. Br., i. 861.
"Tertio idus Julii." Diceto, 644.

² Guy de Valle, Ralph des Fou-
geres, and Geoffrey of Mayenne,
deserted to Richard shortly before

the burning of Le Mans. R. de
Diceto, 644. Ralph had been made
steward of Brittany by Geoffrey in
1185.

³ proditores, qui] prædicto rege,
R.

Hoveden,
373. a. 12,
shorter.
M. Paris,
123, 14.

Comes vero Ricardus in Normanniam rediens venit Rotomagum; et die Sanctæ Margaretæ, feria quinta, Luna tertia, tertio decimo kalendas Augusti, suscepit gladium ducatus Normanniæ de altari Sanctæ Mariæ Rotomagensis, præsentem Waltero archiepiscopo ejusdem civitatis, et episcopis Normanniæ, et comitibus et baronibus ducatus illius; et præsentibus omnibus episcopis. Deinde excepit fidelitatem cleri et populi ducatus illius.

A.D. 1189.
July 28.
Richard
made duke
of Nor-
mandy.

Hoveden,
373. a. 29.

Deinde dedit idem dux filio hæredi comitis de Pertico,¹ Matildam filiam ducis Saxonie in uxorem.

Marriage of
Matilda of
Saxony.

M. Paris,
123, 17.

Deinde concessit et dedit Johanni fratri suo omnes terras quas dominus rex pater suus ei dederat; scilicet quatuor millia librarum terræ in Anglia, et comitatum Morethonii cum pertinentiis suis. Concessit etiam ei filiam comitis² Gloucestris, cum honore illo; et

Provision
for John;

Hoveden,
373. b. 27.

Willelmo Marescallo filiam³ comitis Ricardi de Striguil cum honore illo; et Gilleberto filio Rogeri filii Rainfrei, filiam Willelmi de Loncastre, dapifero⁴ regis patris sui: et concessit Gaufrido fratri suo, quondam Lincolnensis ecclesiæ electo, archiepiscopatum Eboraci.

marriage of
William
Marshall
and Gilbert
Fitz Rein-
frid.

M. Paris,
123, 20.

Qui missis clericis suis in Angliam cum litteris prædicti Ricardi Normanniæ ducis pro eodem negotio, fecit saisiri prædictum archiepiscopatum Eboraci in custodia sua, expulsis custodibus regis et custodibus Huberti Walteri ejusdem ecclesiæ decani, et a quibusdam ejus ecclesiæ canonicis electi.

Geoffrey
being nomi-
nated to the
see of York,
seizes the
cathedral.

Hoveden,
373. a. 31.
M. Paris,
123, 22.

Deinde supradictus dux Normanniæ, tertio die postquam factus est dux, scilicet die Sabbati, festo Sanctæ

July 23.
Conference
of Richard
and Philip.

¹ Geoffrey III., eldest son of Rotrou III., succeeded his father in 1191.

² Isabella or Hawise, daughter of William, son of Robert of Caen.

³ Isabella, daughter of Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke.

⁴ This is William of Lancaster, baron of Kendal, and steward of

Henry II., who died in 1184. R. de Monte. Some account of him will be found in *Mon. Angl.*, v. 909. His daughter's name was Helewisia. Roger Fitz-Reinfrid was one of the committee of regency appointed to assist the justiciars by Richard I. in the council of Pipewell in 1189.

A.D. 1188.
July 22.
Philip
claims Gi-
sors.

Marise Magdalene habuit colloquium¹ cum [domino] suo Philippo rege Francie; [qui] calumniatus est Gisortium et totam adjacentem provinciam. Sed quia prefatus dux Normannie accepturus erat Alesiam sororem suam in conjugem, sustinuit illa vice.

Hoveden,
372. a. 21.
M. Paris,
122, 22.

Richard
promises
Philip a
subsidy.

In eodem colloquio Ricardus dux Normannie promisit se daturum regi Francie quatuor millia marcarum esterlingorum pro expensis suis, et preterea illas viginti millia marcarum quas pater ejus promisit.

Hoveden,
372. a. 22.
M. Paris,
122, 22.

Queen
Eleanor
makes a
royal pro-
gress.

Interim domina Alienor regina, mater predicti ducis Normannie, per mandatum illius de ultra mare, liberata est de carcere mariti sui, quo diu detinebatur, et reginalem curiam circumducens, de civitate in civitatem et de castello in castellum sicut ei placuit profecta est. Et misit per universos comitatus Anglie viros honorabiles, tam clericos quam laicos, ad mandatum Ricardi ducis Normannie filii sui exequendum, in hac forma.²

Hoveden,
372. a. 22.

Deliverance
of prisoners
proclaimed
by queen
Eleanor.

"Imprimis precepit captivos omnes a carceribus et captivibus liberos reddi; ut a propria persona sua argumentum eliceret captiones molestas esse hominibus, et jocundissimam anime refocillationem ab ipsis emergere; precepit itaque quod omnes qui capti essent pro foresta liberarentur quieti, et ut omnes [ut]lagati de foresta ad pacem redirent de precedentibus forisfactis de foresta quieti; et ut omnes alii qui capti essent et retenti per voluntatem regis vel justitie ejus, qui non essent retenti per commune rectum comitatus vel hundredi vel per appellationem, quieti essent:—et illi qui per commune rectum sunt retenti, si plegios invenire possint standi ad rectum, si quis inde voluerit loqui versus eos, liberentur; sin autem,—juramentum prestant standi, si quis adversus eos loqui voluerit, et per tantum liberentur. Et illi qui per appellationem sunt retenti pro quacunque turpi causa, si plegios standi ad rectum invenire possint,³ liberentur, ut plenius inde jus fiat. Et illi qui utlagati sunt per

Hoveden,
372. a. 22.

¹ "Inter Calvum Montem et Trie," add. Hoveden, who gives a rather longer account of the conference, though with no additional particulars.

² Hoveden gives this commission in almost the same words, but in a historical form throughout.

³ "ut plenum inde fiat," in Hoveden.

Hoveden,
373. a. 46.

“ commune rectum sine appellatione per justitias, redeant ad
“ pacem, ita quod plegios inveniant standi ad rectum, si quis
“ versus eos loqui voluerit. Si autem per appellationem sint
“ utlagati, si autem fecerint pacem cum adversariis suis,
“ redeant ad pacem. Et omnes illi qui retenti sunt per appel-
“ lationem illorum, qui se malefactores esse cognoscunt, libe-
“ rentur quieti. Et illi malefactores, quibus pro suis proba-
“ tionibus concessa sunt membra et vita, abjurent terram
“ domini Ricardi, et abscedant. Et illi malefactores qui sine
“ concessione vitæ et membrorum alios appellarunt propria
“ voluntate, in custodia teneantur donec aliud inde habeatur
“ consilium. Et juret unusquisque liberorum hominum totius
“ regni, quod fidem portabit domino Ricardo domino Angliæ,
“ filio domini regis Henrici et dominæ Alienor reginæ, de
“ vita et membris suis et honore terreno, sicut ligio domino
“ suo, contra omnes homines et fœminas qui vivere poterunt
“ et mori; et quod ei justitiales erunt, et auxilium ei præ-
“ stabunt ad pacem et justitiam suam per omnia servanda.”

A.D. 1189.
July.

fo. 140 r.

Hoveden,
373. b. 2.

Finito autem supradicto concilio, Ricardus dux Nor-
manniæ, reddidit Roberto comiti Leycestris terras
suas, quas rex pater suus illi abstulerat. Præterea idem
dux omnes quos rex pater suus exhæredavit, in pris-
tina jura restituit.

Richard
reinstates
the earl of
Leicester.

Deinde dedit Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo,
et Gilberto Rofensi et Hugoni Lincolniensi et Hugoni
Cestrensi episcopis, licentiam redeundi in Angliam.

He sends
home the
bishops.

Hoveden,
373. b. 7.

Postea præfatus dux venit usque Barbefluctum, et
Johannes frater ejus cum eo, ad transfretandum in
Angliam. Venerunt autem in Angliam, per mandatum
ipsius ducis, Walterus Rotomagensis archiepiscopus et
Henricus Bajocensis episcopus. Johannes vero Ebroi-
censis episcopus in Angliam venerat statim post Pen-
tecosten, et adventum ducis expectavit.

Richard
and John go
to Barbeur.

Dux autem et Johannes frater ejus, ascensis navibus
apud Barbefluctum, applicuerunt in Angliam, idus
Augusti, die Dominica post Assumptionem Beatæ Mariæ
genitricis Dei; sed ad diversos portus applicuerunt.
Nam Ricardus dux applicuit apud Portesmue, et
Johannes frater ejus apud Dovre.

August 13.
Richard
lands at
Portsmouth,
John at
Dover.

Hoveden,
377. b. 12.
M. Paris,
155. 46.

Gavisa sunt ergo regna de adventu ducis, quia in
meliorem statum se per illum reformari sperabant. Et

Joy on
Richard's
arrival.

A.D. 1189.
August.
Comparison
of Henry
with the
sun.

quamvis quidam, perpauci tamen, molesti essent de nece domini regis, solatium tamen fuit illis, quod quidam ait,

Hoveden,
373. b. 14.

“Mira canam, sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.”

Vere nox nulla secuta post occasum solis; nam radius solis, solium solis tenens, sole suo jubar lucidius et latius sparsit. Cum enim sol a suo solio in solum deciderit, stans tamen ejus radius occasum vel eclipsin nesciens de corpore solari repente divisus et in se solide reverberatus sol, sole cujus fuit radius, nulla nubium interpolatione vel injuria impediens, multo major et lucidior est effectus. Et ne scrupulosum quid animum legentis lædat, præsentī plenius perpendere poterit pentametro,

“Sol pater, et radius filius ejus erat.”

Richard an
improvement
on his
father.

Filius itaque in immensum crescens, patris sui opera bona perampliat, mala vero resecavit. Nam quos pater [ex]hæredavit, filius in pristina jura restituit; quos pater fugavit, filius revocavit; quos pater in vinculis tenuit, filius illæsos abire permisit; quos pater causa justitiæ diversis poenis afflixit, filius causa pietatis refocillavit.

Hoveden,
373. b. 22.

Præfatus igitur dux Normanniæ, regis Henrici defuncti filius, ut supra dictum est, in Angliam applicuit.

Hoveden,
373. b. 28.

Richard
arrives at
Winchester,
and gives
the heiress
of Châse-
roux to
Andrew of
Chavenni.

Et a clero et populo honorifice susceptus et devote, venit Wintoniam; deinde ad civitatem Sarisbiriensem, ubi dedit cuidam militi suo, nomine Andrea de Chavenni, filiam¹ Radulfi de Dols, cum Castro Radulfi et honore de Berri ad castrum illud pertinente, quæ quondam fuerat uxor comitis Baldewini de Rivers, et fecit eos desponsari a Gileberto Rofensi episcopo in præsentia Alienor reginæ, et Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, et Willelmi Wigornensis et Johannis Ebroicensis episcoporum, et in præsentia multorum comitum et baronum.

Hoveden,
373. b. 28,
shorter.

Deinde fecit prædictus dux ponderare et in scripto redigere omnes thesauros regis patris sui, et inventa

Hoveden,
374. a. 1.
M. Paris,
128, 29.

¹ Dionysia. Labbe, *Bib. MSS.*, ii. 740.

Hoveden.
374. a. 4.

fuerunt et numero et pondere plusquam nongenta millia librarum¹ in auro et argento.

A.D. 1189.
August.
fo. 140 v°.

Deinde perrexit de loco ad locum spatiando usque ad diem coronationis suæ: et fecit interim præparari copiose omnia quæ erant coronationi suæ necessaria.

Progress of
Richard.

² Interim quidam canonicorum Eboracensis ecclesiæ, per mandatum ducis, in metropolitana Eboracensi ecclesia congregati, ad eligendum sibi et ecclesiæ suæ pastorem, die Sancti Laurentii, feria quinta, elegerunt Galfridum regis Henrici filium, quondam Lincolnensis ecclesiæ electum. Et cantato hoc hymno, "Te Deum" laudamus," scripto et sigillis suis, et aliorum honestorum virorum et religiosorum scripto et sigillis, electionem illam sollemniter corroboraverunt. Et Godefridus de Luci, canonicus et archidiaconus ecclesiæ ejusdem, quamvis absens, tamen litteras ratihabitionis misit, mandans se ratam habere illam electionem. Sed magister Bartholomæus, clericus et officialis Huberti Walteri, ejusdem ecclesiæ decani, qui unus erat de prioribus electis, videns hæc omnia facta fuisse in absentia domini sui, et domini Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, et multorum canonicorum ejusdem ecclesiæ; ante electionem et post appellavit ad præsentiam summi pontificis omnes qui præfatæ electioni consenserant; dicens illam minus rationabiliter factam fuisse quam deberet, propter absentiam Dunelmensis episcopi et Eboracensis ecclesiæ decani, et aliorum multorum canonicorum ejusdem ecclesiæ, quorum erat de jure interesse electioni. Audiens ergo Hubertus Walter quæ apud Eboracum fiebant, appellavit Wintoniæ ad præsentiam summi pontificis, et appellationem quam officialis suus fecerat renovavit, coram Henrico Bajocensi, et Johanne Ebroicensi, et Gileberto Rofensi, et Willelmo Wigornensi, et

August 10.
Geoffrey
elected arch-
bishop of
York.

Hubert
Walter
opposes the
election,
and appeals
against it.

¹ "excedens numerum et valentiam centum millia marcarum." Hoveden (ed. Saville).

² Hoveden's account of this trans-

action is very much shorter than that in the text, and is evidently abridged from it.

A.D. 1188.
August.
The possessions of the see of York taken into the king's hands.

Seffrido¹ Cicestrensi episcopo. Et per auxilium et consilium Alienor reginæ, quæ præfatum Gaufridum regis filium novercali odio persequabatur, impetravit litteras a duce, quod omnia Eboracensis ecclesiæ essent in eodem statu quo fuerint die qua dominus Henricus pater suus fuit vivus et mortuus. Et sic iterum omnia jura ecclesiastica Eboracensis ecclesiæ redierunt in manu Huberti Walter et officialium suorum sicut prius fuerant; et omnia sæcularia beneficia illius archiepiscopatus redierunt in custodia servientium.

Hoveden, 373. b. 48.

Richard's munificent provision for John.

Interim Ricardus dux Normanniæ dedit Johanni fratri suo filiam comitis Gloucestris cum comitatu Gloucestris, et castellum de Merleberg cum honore illo; et castellum de Lutegareshale cum honore illo; et castellum de Pech cum honore illo; et castellum de Boleshoveres; et totam terram quæ fuit Willelmi Peverel;² et villam de Notingham cum honore illo, et castellum de Lounecastre cum honore illo, et Derebissam, et honorem de Walinford, et honorem de Tikehil, et multa alia quæ longum est enumerare per singula. Hæc omnia dedit ei cum forestis, villis et aliis omnibus pertinentiis suis.

Hoveden, 373. b. 28, shorter.
M. Paris, 154, 54.

August 28.
Death of Geoffrey Riddell.

Interim Gaufridus³ Eliensis episcopus obiit Wintoniæ, xiii^o. kalendas Septembris, et sepultus est apud Hely.

Hoveden, 373. b. 58.
M. Paris, 154, 2.

August 28.
Marriage of John at Marlborough.

His ita peractis, Johannes frater ducis desponsavit prædictam filiam comitis Gloucestris contra prohibitionem Baldewini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, eo quod parentes erant in tertio gradu. Desponsavit itaque illam apud Merlebergam, quarto kalendas Septembris, festo Decollationis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ.

Hoveden, 373. b. 51.
M. Paris, 154, 2.

Deinde Ricardus dux Normanniæ venit Lundonias, et congregatis ibi archiepiscopis et episcopis, comitibus

Hoveden, 374. a. 2.
M. Paris, 154, 19.

¹ Seffrido] Gaufrido, B. W.

² Forfeited in 1155 for the poisoning of the earl of Chester. ⁴

³ Gaufridus] Riddell, bishop 1174-1189.

Hoveden,
274. a. 10.
M. Paris,
153, 20.

et baronibus et copiosa militum multitudine, tertio nonas Septembris, die Dominica, luna xix., festo ordinationis Sancti Gregorii papæ, die mala, prædictus Ricardus dux Normanniæ consecratus et coronatus est in regem Angliæ, apud Lundonias in Westmonasterio, a Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, ministrantibus illi in illo officio Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, Johanne Dublinensi archiepiscopo, Formale¹ Treverensi archiepiscopo, Hugone Lincolniensi episcopo, Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo, Willelmo Wigornensi episcopo, Johanne Exoniensi episcopo, Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo, Johanne Norwicensi episcopo, Sefrido Cice-trensi episcopo, Gilleberto Rofensi episcopo, Petro episcopo de Sancto David in Wallia, episcopo² de Asfath in Wallia, episcopo³ de Pangor in Wallia.—Albinus episcopus Fernensis⁴ in Hibernia, Concors episcopus Heghdunensis⁵ in Hibernia ;

A.D. 1189
Sept. 5.
Coronation
of Richard

no. 141 r

Bishops
present.

Gaufridus Eboracensis electus, Johannes electus Can- didæ Casæ in Galweia, abbas de Westmonasterio,⁶ abbas de Sancto Albano,⁷ abbas de Sancto Augustino Can- tuariæ,⁸ abbas de Hyda Wintoniæ,⁹ Benedictus abbas de Burgo,¹⁰ abbas de Sancto Eadmundo,¹¹ abbas de Croilandia,¹² abbas de Bello,¹³ abbas Sanctæ Mariæ Eboraci,¹⁴ Arnaldus abbas Rievallis, abbas de Holm

Bishops
elect and
abbots.

¹ Fulmar, Formalis, or Formator, archdeacon of Treves, was elected archbishop by intrigue in 1183, and consecrated by pope Urban III. on Whit-Sunday 1186. He never gained full possession of his see, and was, with his competitor Rudolf, deprived by Clement III. in 1189. He then came to England, where he died.

² episcopo] Reiner, 1186-1224.

³ episcopo] Guy, 1177-1190.

⁴ Fernensis] Albinus, 1185-1122.

⁵ Heghdunensis] Concors, bishop of Enaghdan.

⁶ Walter, 1176-1190.

⁷ Warin, 1188-1195.

⁸ Roger, abbot 1178-1212.

⁹ John Suthill, abbot 1181-1222.

¹⁰ Benedict, abbot 1181-1193.

¹¹ Sampson de Totington, 1182-1211.

¹² Robert of Reading, abbot of Croyland, 1175-1190.

¹³ Odo, abbot of Battle 1175-1200.

¹⁴ Robert Harpham, 1184-1189, was dead. The abbey was represented by William the prior.

A.D. 1188.
Sept. 2.
List of earls
present at
the coronation.

Cultram,¹ abbas de Mortemer,² et abbas de Sancto Dionysio,³ qui venerant ex parte regis Francie. Willelmus comes Albemarlise et Evesham, Hamellinus frater regis Henrici comes Warennæ, Johannes frater regis Ricardi, comes Meretone et Gloucestrise, Robertus comes Leicestrise, Ricardus comes de Clara, Wallerannus comes de Warwic, Willelmus de Aubeni comes de Suthsex, Albricus comes,⁴ Willelmus⁵ comes de Salesbiria, Willelmus Marescallus comes de Striguil, David frater regis Scotie comes de Huntendona.

List of
barons.

Præterea hi barones interfuerunt, Robertus de Lasci, Nigellus de Mumbray, Rogerus Bigot, Reginaldus Lusci, Gervasius Painel, Willelmus de Humet, Baldewinus Wac, Robertus de Stanford, Johannes⁶ constabularius Cestrie, Jollanus de Nevil, Willelmus de Nevil, Henricus de Puteaco, Ranulfus de Glanvil justitiarius Angliæ, Gerardus de Glanvilla frater ipsius, Gillebertus Basset, Gerardus de Camvilla, Ricardus de Camvilla.⁷

Incipit ordo coronationis regis Ricardi.

Ceremonial
of coronation.

Inprimis venerunt episcopi et abbates et clerici multi induti cappis purpureis, præcedentibus eos cruce, cereis, thuribulis, usque ad ostium thalami interioris. Et ibi receperunt prædictum Ricardum, qui coronandus erat, et duxerunt eum in ecclesiam Westmonasterii usque ad altare cum reverenti processione et cantu in hunc modum.

Procession
of clergy.

In prima fronte præcedebant clerici albis induti, portantes aquam benedictam et crucem et cereos et thuribulos: deinde veniebant abbates; deinde episcopi.

Hoveden,
274. a. 28.
M. Paris,
122, 22.

Hoveden,
274. a. 28.

¹ Everard, 1175-1192.

² Mortemer-en-Lions. William Tholomeus, 1179-1200.

³ Hugh Foucaut, 1186-1197.

⁴ De Vere, earl of Oxford.

⁵ William of Eyreux, son of Patrick, 1168-1196.

⁶ De Lacy.

⁷ Hoveden does not give the names of the abbots, earls, and barons in the above list; but says, "omnibus fere abbatibus et prioribus et comitibus et baronibus Angliæ assistantibus."

Hoveden,
374. a. 30.
M. Paris,
123.
Hoveden,
374. a. 31.

In medio autem illorum ibant quatuor barones portantes candelabra cum cereis. A.D. 1189. Sept. 3.

Post illos veniebat Johannes Marescallus, portans in manibus suis duo calcaria magna et ponderosa de thesauro regis. Juxta illum ibat Godefridus de Luci portans pileum regale. The spurs and cap.

Hoveden,
374. a. 32.

Post illos veniebant duo comites, quorum hæc sunt nomina; Willelmus Marescallus comes de Striguil, et Willelmus comes de Salesbiria: unus illorum, scilicet Willelmus Marescallus, portans sceptrum regale, in cujus summitate signum crucis aureum erat: et alter, scilicet Willelmus comes de Salesbiria, portans virgam regalem, habentem columbam in summitate. Two earls with the sceptre and rod.

Hoveden,
374. a. 33.

Et post illos veniebant tres comites, quorum hæc sunt nomina; David frater regis Scotiæ comes de Huntedona, et Robertus comes Leicestriæ, et in medio illorum ibat Johannes comes Meretoni et Gloucestriæ, portantes tres gladios cum vaginis aureis sumptos de thesauro regis. Three earls with the swords.

Hoveden,
374. a. 33.

Et post illos veniebant sex comites et barones portantes unum scaccarium super quod posita erant insignia regalia et vestes. The regalia.

Hoveden,
374. a. 33.

Et post illos ibat Willelmus de Mandevilla comes de Albemarla et de Exessa, portans coronam auream in manibus suis. Deinde venit Ricardus dux Normanniæ, et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus a dextris illius ibat, et Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus a sinistris illius ibat, et umbraculum sericum portabatur super illos. Et omnis turba comitum et baronum et militum et aliorum, tam clericorum quam laicorum, sequebatur usque in atrium ecclesiæ, et sic usque in ecclesiam ad altare. The crown.
Richard under a canopy.
fo. 141 v°.

Hoveden,
374. a. 37.

Cum vero perventum esset ad altare, coram prædictis archiepiscopis et episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, clero et populo, hæc tria fecit Ricardus dux sacramenta. Juravit itaque et vovit coram positis sacrosanctis Evangeliiis et plurimorum sanctorum relli- Richard's three catha.

A.D. 1189. Sept. 8. Coronation cath.	quiiis, quod pacem et honorem et reverentiam omnibus diebus vitæ suæ portabit Deo et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ et ejus ordinatis. Deinde juravit quod rectam justitiam exercebit in populo sibi commisso. Deinde juravit quod leges malas et consuetudines perversas, si aliquæ sunt in regno suo, delebit, et bonas custodiet. ¹	Hoveden, 374. a. 59, M. Paris, 153.
Richard is undressed,	Deinde exuerunt eum vestibus suis quibus indutus fuerat, exceptis camisia et bracciis. Camisia vero illa dissuta erat in scapulis.	Hoveden, 374. a. 54.
and shod.	Deinde calciaverunt eum sandaliis auro contextis.	Hoveden, 374. a. 54.
Delivery of the sceptre and rod.	Deinde tradidit ei archiepiscopus sceptrum in manu dextera, et virgam regalem in sinistra.	Hoveden, 374. b. 14.
Anointing.	Deinde Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis infundens oleum sanctum desuper in tribus locis, unxit eum in regem; scilicet in capite, in scapulis, et in brachio dextro, cum orationibus ad hoc constitutis.	Hoveden, 374. b. 1.
Dressing.	Deinde posuit super caput ejus consecratum pannum lineum et pileum desuper. Deinde vestierunt eum regalibus indumentis; primo tunica, deinde dalmatica.	Hoveden, 374. b. 2.
Delivery of the sword,	Deinde tradidit ei archiepiscopus gladium ad malefactores ecclesiæ comprimendos.	Hoveden, 374. b. 6.
spurs,	Deinde duo comites calciaverunt eum calcaria aurea sumpta de thesauro regis.	Hoveden, 374. b. 7.
mantle.	Deinde indutus est mantea.	Hoveden, 374. b. 8.
Adjuration.	Deinde ductus est ad altare, et conjuratus ab archiepiscopo, et prohibitus ex parte Dei ne homo honorem sibi assumat, nisi in mente habeat tenere sacramenta et vota quæ superius fecit. Et ipse respondit se per Dei auxilium omnia supradicta observaturum bona fide.	Hoveden, 374. b. 9.
Coronation.	Deinde ipse cepit coronam de altari, et tradidit eam archiepiscopo; et archiepiscopus posuit eam super caput regis.	Hoveden, 374. b. 12.
Inthroning.	Et sic coronatus rex ductus est ad sedem suam,	Hoveden, 374. b. 13.

¹ *et bonas custodiet*] Hoveden has | "sine fraude et malo ingenio eas
here, "et bonas leges conderet et | "custodiret."

Hoveden, 374. b. 16. M. Paris, 188. ducentibus eum Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo a dextris, et Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo a sinistris, præcedentibus eos candelabris, et supradictis tribus gladiis. A.D. 1188. Sept. 2.

Hoveden, 374. b. 17. Deinde inchoata est Missa Dominicalia. Cum vero perventum fuit ad offertorium, præfati duo episcopi duxerunt eum ad offerendum, et reduxerunt ad sedem suam. Mass.

Hoveden, 374. b. 20. Celebrata autem Missa, et omnibus rite peractis, prædicti duo episcopi, unus a dexteris et unus a sinistris, reduxerunt eum coronatum, portantem sceptrum in dextera et virgam regalem in sinistra, ab ecclesia usque in thalamum suum, processione ordinatim præcedente. Deinde reversa est processio in chorum. The king returns to his chamber.

Hoveden, 374. b. 24. Interim rex deposuit coronam suam et vestes regales, et leviores coronam et vestes sumpsit: et sic coronatus venit prandere. Et archiepiscopi, et episcopi, et abbates et alii clerici sedebant cum eo in mensa sua, unusquisque secundum ordinem et dignitatem suam. Comites vero et barones et milites sedebant ad alias mensas et epulabantur splendide. Banquet.

Hoveden, 374. b. 30. M. Paris, 184. 11. Prudentibus autem illis, principes Judæorum contra prohibitionem regis supervenerunt. Et quia rex die præcedenti prohibuerat communi edicto, ne Judæus vel mulier ad coronationem suam veniret, curiales¹ injecerunt manus in Judæos, et spoliaverunt eos et verberaverunt eos, et plagis impositis ejecerunt eos a curia regis: quosdam vero interfecerunt, quosdam semivivos reliquerunt. Unus autem ex Judæis illis, qui Benedictus Judæus Eboracensis vocabatur, adeo graviter verberibus et vulneribus affectus est, quod de vita illius desperatum est, et sic timore mortis perterritus suscepit baptismum a Willelmo priore ecclesiæ Riot against the Jews.
Story of Benedict of York.
fo. 148 r.

¹ curiales] Hoveden says, "plebs" | "de." He gives a few more particulara.
"superbo oculo et insatiabili cor-

- A.D. 1189. Sept. 3. Sanctæ Mariæ Eboraci; et vocatus est Willelmus. Et sic evasit mortis periculum et manus persequentium. Hoveden, 374. b. 54.
- Riot in London on account of the Jews. Sept. 3. Audiens autem plebs civitatis Lundoniæ quod curiales ita sævirent in Judæos, irruerunt in Judæos civitatis et spoliaverunt eos, et multos interfecerunt utriusque sexus; et domos illorum succenderunt, et in cinerem et favillam redegerunt. Pauci tamen illorum evaserunt illam interfectionem, includentes se infra turrim Lundoniarum, et in domibus amicorum suorum latitabant. Hoveden, 374. b. 55. M. Paris, 154. 17.
- Sept. 4. Richard punishes the rioters. Insequenti die cum rex audisset hæc fieri, missis servientibus suis per civitatem, fecit comprehendi quosdam malefactorum illorum et sibi præsentari. Tres vero illorum per judicium curiæ suspensi sunt in patibulo: unus quia furtum fecerat in re cujusdam Christiani; duo quia incendium fecerant in civitate, unde domus Christianorum combustæ sunt. Deinde misit rex pro viro illo qui jam de Judæo factus fuerat Christianus, præsentibus illis qui viderant baptizare eum; et interrogavit eum, si esset Christianus effectus. Ipse vero respondit "Non," sed ut mortem evaderet permisit sibi fieri a Christianis quod volebant. Tunc interrogavit rex archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, præsentibus multis archiepiscopis et episcopis, quid esset de illo faciendum. Respondit archiepiscopus minus discrete quam deberet dicens, "Si ipse homo Dei esse non vult, sit homo diaboli," et sic reversus est ille qui fuerat Christianus ad legem Judaicam. Hoveden, 374. b. 57. M. Paris, 154. 22.
- Benedict of York returns to Judaism. Sept. 5. Reception of homage. In crastino vero recepit rex homagia et fidelitates de archiepiscopis et episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus et baronibus terræ suæ. Hoveden, 374. b. 58.
- Richard procures protection to the Jews. Interim misit rex nuncios et litteras suas per omnes comitatus Angliæ, prohibens ne aliquis forisfaciat Judæis, sed pacem suam habeant. Sed priusquam edictum illud publicatum esset, Judæi qui erant in villa Dunestaple conversi sunt ad fidem Christianorum, et baptizati sunt, et uxores suas desponsaverunt. Similiter fiebat per plures civitates in Anglia.

Hoveden,
378. a. 47.

Deinde dominus rex Ricardus venit ad abbatiam quæ dicitur Pipewella:¹ et congregatis ibi Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et Johanne Dublinensi archiepiscopo, et omnibus episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus totius regni,² præfatus rex Ricardus dedit Godefrido de Luci episcopatum Wintoniensem, et Ricardo³ thesaurario suo, archidiacono Eliensi, episcopatum Lundoniarum, xv^o. die Septembris, in crastino Exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis. Et his expletis rex et cæteri omnes reversi sunt ad hospitia.

A.D. 1199.
Sept. 18.
Council of
Pipewell.

Richard
appoints
bishops of
Winchester
and London.

Hoveden,
378. b. 2,
shorter.

Mane autem facto venit iterum rex, et præfati archiepiscopi et episcopi cum copiosa clericorum et laicorum multitudine, ad prædictam abbatiam; et dedit Willelmo de Luncamp, cancellario suo, episcopatum Eliensem, et Huberto Walteri, decano Eboraci, episcopatum Saresbiriensem. Et sic omnis controversia quæ erat inter illum et Gaufridum Eboracensis ecclesiæ electum sopita est.

Sept. 18.
He appoints
bishops of
Ely and
Salisbury.

Hoveden,
378. b. 4.

Deinde dominus rex dedit abbatiam de Selebi Rogero Lundoniensi,⁴ ejusdem abbatiæ priori; et priori⁵ de Bermundesheia abbatiam de Glastincbiria: et Gaufrido fratri suo, quondam Lincolniensi electo, archiepiscopatum Eboracensem: et Henrico⁶ fratri Willelmi Marescalli decanatum ecclesiæ Eboracensis; et Buchardo⁷ de Puthæaco, nepoti Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, thesaurariam ecclesiæ Eboracensis; et Willelmo de Chamvil archidiaconatum de Richemunda, et Willelmo⁸ de

He gives
away the
abbey of
Selby and
Glaston-
bury, ap-
points Geof-
frey arch-
bishop of
York, and
makes other
appoint-
ments in
York.

¹ Richard was at S. Alban's on the 7th of September. *Mon. Angl.*, v. 491. His charters of September 16, 17, 18, are dated at Geddington, in which manor Pipewell abbey was situated. *Mon. Angl.*, v. 431.

² Hoveden here gives the list of the bishops as above, p. 79.

³ Richard Fitz Neal.

⁴ Roger of London, abbot 1189-1195.

⁵ Henry de Sully, afterwards bishop of Worcester.

⁶ Henry Marshall, afterwards bishop of Exeter.

⁷ Buchardo] Son of Everard de Pulset, and brother of the count of Bar on the Seine. His uncle, Hugh of Pulset, had been treasurer before him, 1144-1153, as had S. William his cousin.

⁸ Afterwards bishop of London, 1199-1221.

A.D. 1189.
Sept. 16.

Baldwin
archbishop
of Center-
bury claims
the right of
consecra-
ting Geof-
frey.

fo. 148 v.

Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia præbendam quæ fuit Huberti Walteri in ecclesia Eboracensi. Hoveden, 375. b. a.

Cumque Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus vidisset dominum regem dedisse Gaufrido fratri suo archiepiscopatum Eboracensem, statim protulit coram rege et præfatis archiepiscopis et episcopis cartam regis Willelmi Bastardi¹ qui Angliam bellando sibi subjugaverat, in qua continebatur controversia quæ olim vertebatur inter Eboracensem ecclesiam et Cantuariensem super primatia Angliæ et quibusdam aliis dignitatibus, quas altera adversus alteram petebat, et ad quem finem controversia prædicta pervenit. Itaque in carta illa regis Willelmi continebatur, quod Thomas tunc temporis Eboracensis archiepiscopus, ordinem sacerdotalem et episcopalem consecrationem suscepit de manu Lamfranci, tunc temporis Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et totius Angliæ primatis; et ei professionem scriptam fecit, et ad concilia sua, cum Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ episcopo et cæteris suffraganeis suis, venit, et ei omnem reverentiam sicut primati suo exhibuit. Hæc autem omnia facta fuisse coram rege Wilhelmo in generali concilio apud Lundonias, testabatur carta illa per diffinitivam sententiam, ab Alexandro papa secundo prolatam, in præsentia N.² legati, qui a præfato papa missus erat ad litem illam inter prædictos archiepiscopos et eorum successores dirimendam. Auctoritate igitur hujus cartæ, Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus prohibuit per Gilbertum Rofensem episcopum, et Hugonem Cestrensem episcopum, Gaufrido Eboracensi electo, ne ipse ab aliquo alio quam ab illo ordinem sacerdotalem vel episcopalem susciperet consecrationem. Et prohibuit Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo, et Johanni Divilinensi archiepiscopo, et Formali Treverensi archiepiscopo, ne

¹ This document may be found at length in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, iii. fo. 65, ed. Savile, and in many other places.

² N.] Hubert, reader of the Holy Roman Church. W. Malmesb., ed. Savile, 66.

illi munus ordinationis vel consecrationis illi facere præsumerent. Et super hoc ad sedem apostolicam appellavit.

A.D. 1182.
Sept. 16.

Hoveden,
375. b. 24,
shorter.

Insequenti vero die, scilicet in xvii^o. die Septembris, Johannes electus Candidæ Casæ consecratus est in episcopum, a Johanne Divilinensi archiepiscopo, administrantibus ei Formali Treverensi archiepiscopo et Concorde Hegdunensi episcopo, apud abbatiam de Pipe-wella, die Dominica, festo Sancti Lamberti episcopi et martyris, xv^o. kalendas Octobris.

Sept. 17.
Consecra-
tion of John
bishop of
Whithorn.

Eodem die Matildis filia ducis Saxonie, uxor Gaufridi comitis de Pertico, rediens de Normannia in Angliam venit ad Ricardum regem Angliæ avunculum suum.

Arrival of
Matilda
of Saxony.

Hoveden,
375. a. 2.

In eodem concilio Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Deo et beato Cuthberto Dunelmensi, et Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo, et omnibus successoribus suis, dominicum manerium suum de [Sadberga] cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et cum wapentaca, et cum omnibus ad regis coronam pertinentibus, sine aliquo retinemento; et carta sua confirmavit. Et cum hac concessione prædictus episcopus quieta clamavit regi servitia militum suorum in Lindissia, scilicet servitia Philippi de Kyma et Baldewini Wac.¹

Richard's
grants to
Hugh
bishop of
Durham.

Hoveden,
375. b. 28,
shorter.

In eodem concilio Ricardus rex constituit Dunelmensem episcopum et Willelmum de Mandavilla comitem Albamarliæ justitios Angliæ,² quia Ranulfus de Glanvil jam senio et labore confectus, qui justitios Angliæ tempore regis Henrici exstiterat, quæsit a rege Ricardi licentiam eundi Jerosolimam et accepit.

He appoints
justiciars.

His ita peractis, unusquisque ad sua remeavit.

The council
breaks up.
John is sent
into Wales
with an
army.

Interim Ricardus rex magnum congregavit exercitum, et misit illum cum Johanne fratre suo in Walliam ad debellandum Resum filium Griffini regem de Sutwalles,

¹ This act is given in full by
Hoveden, f. 375. a.

² "Et associavit cum eis in regi-
mine regni Willelmum Marescal-

lum, et Gaufridum filium Petri,

"et Willelmum Brunere, et Ro-

bertum de Wihetfeld, et Rogerum

filium Remfridi." Add. Hoved.

A.D. 1188.
September.
John meets
the Welsh
kings at
Worcester.

Geoffrey is
ordained
priest at
Southwell,
Sept. 23;
and Henry
Marshall,
deacon at
Burton-in-
Lindsey.
no. 148 r.

Hamo, the
precentor of
York, re-
fuses to in-
stall the new
treasurer.

pro eo quod ipse [pacem] suam fregerat et mandatis suis obedire nolebat. Cæteri vero reges Wallorum ad eum venerunt apud Wirecestre, et foedus pacis cum eo inierunt.

Interim Gaufridus Eboracensis electus venit ad Suwelle villam suam; et ibi mense Septembri, Sabbato quatuor temporum, suscepit ordinem sacerdotalem a Johanne episcopo Candidæ Cæse, suffraganeo suo. Et Henricus frater Willelmi Marescalli, cui Ricardus rex decanatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ dederat, venit usque Burtonam in Lindeseia, et ibi suscepit ordinem subdiaconi et diaconi in una die a Concorde Egdunensi episcopo. Et cum ipse ad Eboracensem ecclesiam venisset, non invenit qui eum in stallum suum mitteret. Dicebant enim clerici ecclesiæ illius quod nullus præter archiepiscopum debuit mittere eum in stallum decani. Sed Hamo præcentor ejusdem ecclesiæ misit eum in stallum præbendæ quam præfatus rex ei dederat. Cum autem Buccardus de Puteaco archidiaconus Dunelmensis, cui rex thesaurariam Eboracensis ecclesiæ dederat, Eboracum venisset cum litteris regis, Hamoni præcentori directis, ut prædictum Buccardum in stallum mitteret; noluit mandatis regis obedire. Dicebat enim quod Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus ipsi prædictam thesaurariam dederat; et quod rex Henricus illam ipsi confirmaverat; et super hoc ad sedem apostolicam appellavit. Et uterque fraudatus a desiderio suo recessit.

Hoveden,
272. b. 37.

De morte imperatoris Romanorum.

The em-
peror Frede-
rick arrives
at Constanti-
nople.

He marches
into Asia
Minor
(A.D. 1186).

Interim Fredericus Romanorum imperator venit Constantinopolim cum exercitu suo, et ab imperatore Constantinopolitano cum debito honore et reverentia magna susceptus, dedit et accepit securitates de pace servanda. Et facta ibi mora per aliquot dies prævidit sibi ea quæ essent necessaria sibi et suis in via. Et inde procedens cum exercitu suo, venit in terram Soltani de Yconio,

et pugnavit cum illo, et prævaluit adversus eum, et obtinuit munitiones ejus. Sed multos amisit de militibus et de familiaribus suis, tam in præliis multis quæ fecit contra Turcos, quam per diversas ægritudines ex corruptione aeris provenientes. Post multum vero temporis, cum prædictus imperator exiret de terra Soltani de Yconio, et venisset in terram Rupini de la Muntaine,¹ venit ad fluvium magnum qui dicitur Salef; qui etiam currens per medium terræ Turkorum, dividit eam a terra Rupini prædicti, et cadit in gulfo Sataliæ. Quo cum imperator ille pervenisset, deposuit vestimenta sua in ripa fluminis et prosiliit in aquam ad balneandum se; erat enim æstus magnus valde. Ad exemplum autem imperatoris multi de commilitonibus suis deposuerunt vestimenta sua et prosilierunt in flumine; et cum omnes conarentur natare trans flumen, solus imperator transnavit. Et cum rediret natando, defecerunt ei vires, et rapacitas aquæ traxit eum in profundum, "Et sic submersus vitam finivit in undis." Sui autem stabant attoniti in ripa plorantes, et explorantes ut eum ad terram traherent. Et extrahentes eum, totum corpus in frusta sciderunt, et carnem ejus coxerunt, et ossa ejus extraxerunt, et carnes coctas sepelierunt in Antiochia cum cerebro et visceribus. Ossa autem ejus secum tulerunt usque ad civitatem Tyri, et sepelierunt ea ibi. Filius autem ejus Conradus² dux Suaviæ factus est princeps exercitus illius.

A.D. 1190.
Fights with
the Turks of
Iconium.

Enters
Armenia.

He is
drowned
(June 10
1190).

fo. 148 v.

Hoveden,
378. b. 58.

Eodem anno Formalis Treverensis archiepiscopus obiit in Anglia apud Norhamtonam.

A.D. 1180.
Death of the
archbishop
of Treves.

Hoveden,
378. a. 1.

Eodem anno, mense Septembris, homines Londonienses et cæteri multi qui de diversis regnis per naves iter Jerosolimitanum arripuerant, obsederunt in Hispania

The London
crusaders
besiege
Silvia.

¹ The prince of Armenia. Leo, the reigning prince, was the successor of Rupin, and was crowned king in 1197, by Conrad of Wittelsbach, archbishop of Mentz.

² Frederick V., 1169-1191. Conrad did not succeed to Suabia until after his brother's death in 1191, and died in 1196.

A.D. 1192. civitatem quandam Saracenorum quæ Silva dicitur, et ^{Hoveden, 374. n. 2.} ceperunt eam; et deletis spurcitiis eorum, legem Christianam ibi in perpetuum tenendam statuerunt, et ecclesiam ibi in honore Dei et beatæ Virginis Dei genitricis Mariæ fabricaverunt; et accersitis vicinis episcopis qui cum eis venerant, fecerunt consecrari episcopum ejusdem civitatis, et tradiderunt eam Sancio Regi de Portigal. Et ipsi die Sancti Michaelis transierunt per districtas Africæ sine impedimento.¹

They take the city, and give it up to the king of Portugal.

Pass the Straits of Gibraltar, Sept. 20.

Richard deposes Ranulf Glanvill and the sheriffs.

All offices are put up to sale.

Hugh of Durham buys the earldom of Northumberland.

Et eodem mense Ricardus rex deposuit a baillis suis Ranulfum de Glanvilla justitiarium Angliæ, et fere omnes vicecomites et ballivos eorum; et omnes redemit usque ad ultimum quadrantem: et quanto familiares patri suo exstiterant tanto eos plus opprimebat. Qui autem non habebat quantum ab eo exigebatur, statim capiebatur, et in carcerem mittebatur ubi erat fletus et stridor dentium; et alios vicecomites in loco depositorum instituit. Et omnia erant ei venalia, scilicet potestates, dominationes, comitatus, vicecomitatus, castella, villæ, prædia, et cætera iis similia. Unde factum est quod Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, emit sibi et ita ecclesiæ suæ Dunelmensi in perpetuum, villam regis de Seggesfeld cum wapentahc et aliis pertinentiis suis, pro servitio quinque militum in Lindeseya, quos idem episcopus quietos clamavit regi in sempiternum. Præterea idem Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus emit sibi in vita sua comitatum de Norhumbria, cum castellis et aliis pertinentiis suis. Præterea idem Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus dedit regi mille marcas argenti, ut

M. Paris, 154. 47.

Hoveden, 374. n. 45.

¹ If this date is correct, it is clear that the statement in the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, that the captors of Silvia arrived at Acre in the early part of September, cannot be interpreted literally. It probably means that the northern fleets, of which this was a part, began to arrive at that time. P. 65, &c. Ralph de

Diceto gives a short account of the affair. According to him the fleet left Dartmouth May 18, and reached Lisbon June 29; they began the siege of Silvia July 16, and took it September 6. The mosque was consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, Sept. 8. R. Diceto, 646.

- M. Paris, 155, l. esset justitiarius in Anglia, et ut ab itinere Jeroso- A.D. 1189. September. Hugh gives up the crusade.
limitano remaneret; et ipse Hugo Dunelmensis epi-
scopus misit nuncios suos ad summum pontificem pro
habenda remanendi licentia.
- Hoveden, 376. a. 9. Et Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus emit ab illo Godfrey of Winchester buys Weregrave and Meon.
duo maneria optima, quorum unum dicitur Weregrave,
et alterum Menes,¹ pertinentia ad episcopatum suum ut
dicebatur.
- Hoveden, 376. a. 11. Et Samson abbas de Sancto Eadmundo, emit ab eo Samson of S. Edmund's buys Mildenhall.
manerium quod dicitur Mildeshale pro mille marcis,
quod antiquo jure pertinebat ad abbatiam suam, ut
dicebatur.
- Hoveden, 376. a. 12. Et cæteri quicunque volebant, emebant a rege tam The king collects an immense treasure.
sua quam aliena jura. Unde factum est quod rex in-
finitam adquisivit pecuniam quantam nullus antecesso-
rum suorum habuisse dinoscitur.
- Et mense Septembri rex constituit Johannem fratrem John Marshall made cocheator.
Willelmi Marescalli custodem et receptorem omnium
excaitarum suarum in Anglia; sed paulo post removit
illum a baillia sua, et aliis illam tradidit.
- Eodem anno, mense Octobri, Willelmus de Mandevilla October. William Mandeville goes to Normandy.
comes Albemarlæ transfretavit de Anglia in Norman-
niam pro agendis negotiis domini sui Ricardi regis.
- Hoveden, 376. a. 14. Eodem mense Octobri, Gaufridus Eboracensis electus Geoffrey comes to York; refuses to install the new dean and treasurer, and so offends the king.
venit Eboracum, et cum sollemni processione receptus
est in ecclesia sua a clero et populo. Venerunt etiam
Eboracum Henricus frater Willelmi Marescalli, cui rex
dederat decanatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ; et Bucardus
nepos Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, cui rex dederat
thesaurariam Eboracensis ecclesiæ. Sed Eboracensis
electus noluit eos recipere nec in stallos mittere, dicens
quod non mitteret eos in stallos donec electio sua con-
firmata esset a summo pontifice.
- Hoveden, 376. b. 34. Unde rex iratus dissaisivit eum ab omnibus laicis
tenementis suis cismarinis et transmarinis.
- Eodem mense idem Gaufridus Eboracensis electus Geoffrey

¹ *Menes*] Eves, B.

A.D. 1189.
October.
sends to
Rome for
the pall.

misit Adam de Thornovere canonicum Eboracensem et alios nuncios quamplures ad Romanum pontificem propter pallium; sed rex noluit permittere eos transfretare, et sic reversi sunt ad dominum suum.

Henry the
Lion re-
turns to
Germany.

Eodem mense Octobris, Henricus dux Saxonie, audito quod uxor sua esset defuncta, misit Henricum filium suum in Saxoniam primogenitum; et ipse veniens contra sacramentum quod fecerat domino suo imperatori, secutus est filium suum festinanter; et congregato exercitu magno invasit eos quibus imperator terras suas dederat, et expugnavit eos, et in brevi cepit plus quam triginta castella.¹

Hoveden,
376. a. 31.

November.
Death of
William

Eodem anno, mense Novembris, Willelmus de Mandevilla [comes] Albemarie obiit² in Normannia apud Rothomagum.

Hoveden,
376. a. 34.

fo. 144 v.
Mandevilla,
and Hugh
de Puiset,
count of
Bar-on-the-
Seine.

Eodem mense Novembris Hugo de Putheaco, comes de Bar, nepos Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, frater supradicti Bucardi, obiit in Anglia apud Aldech,³ et sepultus est Dunelmi in loco qui dicitur Galilæa.

Hoveden,
376. a. 35.

Rotron,
count of
Perche,
brings to
Richard the
news of Phi-
lip's prepa-
rations for
the crusade.

Eodem mense Novembris Rothrodus comes de Pertico venit ex parte Philippi regis Francie in Angliam, per quem ipse mandavit Ricardo regi Anglie et comitibus et baronibus totius regni sui, ipsum et comites et barones suos de regno Francie, in generali concilio suo Parisius, jurasse, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliiis, quod ipse et sui immutabiliter, Deo volente, erunt apud Wize-

Hoveden,
376. a. 37.
M. Paris,
155. 49.

¹ According to Arnold of Lübeck (*Leibnitz, Scr. Rer. Br.*, ii. 684), Henry the Lion arrived with his son at Stade about Michaelmas, and having been received by Hartwig, archbishop of Bremen, proceeded to take possession of the county of Holstein, took Bardevic on the 28th of October, and Lübeck and Lauenburg shortly after Martinmas. Cf. Chron. Slav. ap. Lindenbrog, p. 203.

² William de Mandevilla died

Nov. 14 (R. de Diceto, 650), without issue. The earldom of Essex went to Geoffrey Fitz Peter his cousin. His widow carried her earldom of Albemarle first to Baldwin of Bethune, and then to William de Fortibus, who founded the English line of Albemarle and Holderness. The Norman county of Aumale was given by Philip Augustus to Simon of Dammarin.

³ Aldech] Adet, Hoveden. Savile suggests *Acle*.

Hoveden,
276. a. 21.

liacum ad clausum Pascha; inde Jerosolimam ituri; et in testimonium hujus sacramenti ipse rex Franciæ misit cartam suam¹ regi Angliæ per prædictum Rotrodum comitem de Pertico, petens quod rex Angliæ et comites et barones Angliæ simili modo faciant eum securum de itinere faciendo ad eundem terminum.

A.D. 1188.
November
He requests
Richard to
meet him at
Veneid on
April 1.

Hoveden,
276. a. 24.
M. Paris,
158. 55.

Unde factum est quod rex Angliæ Ricardus, congregatis episcopis et comitibus et baronibus regni sui in civitate Lundoniarum, et in generali concilio recepto prius a prædicto comite de Pertico, et aliis nunciis regis Franciæ, sacramento in animam regis Franciæ, quod ipse rex Franciæ immutabiliter veniret ad Wizeliacum in clauso Pascha, contra regem Angliæ, ad perficiendum iter suum Jerosolimitanum; fecit Willelmum de Mandavilla jurare in animam suam, coram prædictis nunciis regis Franciæ, quod omni occasione remota et excusatione, veniret Wizeliacum, et in clauso Pascha, contra regem Franciæ, ad peregrinationem suam Jerosolimitanam perficiendum.

Richard,
after a coun-
cil at Lon-
don, pro-
mises to
meet Philip
at Veneid
on April 1.

Hoveden,
276. a. 42.

Eodem anno² Sibylla regina Jerusalem dedit Saladino Scalonam pro redemptione Widonis de Lezinun, regis Jerusalem, mariti sui. Qui cum veniret ad Tyrum, Conradus marchio non permisit eum intrare. Rex autem ille, non habens ubi caput suum reclinaret, extra urbem Tyri in tentoriis remansit. Confluebant ergo ad eum Templarii et Hospitalares et omnes Christiani, qui dispersi erant in regione illa propter metum Judæorum et paganorum, et adhærebant ei sicut domino et regi suo. Deinde per consilium Heraclii patriarchæ et illorum qui cum illo erant, profectus est usque ad civitatem Acræ mense Augusti,³ xi°. kalendas Septembris, et eam obsedit in loco qui dicitur Le Turun. Et quia

News from
Palestine.

The siege of
Acre is be-
gun, Aug.
22.

¹ See *Foed.*, i. 49.

² The release of Guy actually took place in May 1188. Ascalon had been surrendered to Saladin Sept. 4, 1187.

³ Bohadin, the *Itinerarium*, and a letter given by R. Diceto, place the opening of the siege on the 28th of August.

- A.D. 1189. August. Siege of Acre. rex modicum habebat exercitum, pagani qui in civitate Acræ erant, non clausurunt portas civitatis, neque de die neque de nocte, sed ibant et revertebantur cum camelis suis, attrahentes eis victualia et alia quæ erant eis necessaria. Tertia autem die sequenti applicuerunt apud Acram comes Robertus de Druës, et Robertus¹ episcopus Belvacensis frater ejus, et comes Airaldus de Brenes,² et Jakes de Avennis,³ et alii multi cum illis, de quorum adventu rex et qui cum eo erant gavisii sunt gaudio magno. Hoveden, 376. a. 58.
- Arrival of new crusaders. Interim Saladinus magno congregato exercitu venit prope exercitum Christianorum, et commisit cum eis prælium feria quarta post festum Sancti Michaelis in planitie ante Acram, inter Acram et Casale Episcopi; in quo prælio Saladinus confectus est et fugatus, ita quod ipse omnia tentoria reliquit Christianis, et amisit de melioribus militiæ suæ partem unam; sed et Christiani magnam partem suorum perdiderunt. Postea vero Saladinus recuperavit super gentem Christianam propter peccata eorum, ita quod usque ad castra sua repulsi sunt. Et Girardus de Ridesfor⁴ magister Templi, et marescallus Templi cum fratribus fere duodeviginti qui optime se continuerant, ibi interfecti fuerunt. Et aliam amiserunt Christiani militiam usque ad milites quadraginta et centum Turcoplos. Saladinus vero amisit ibi primogenitum suum Mirasalim, et nepotem suum Tekehedin, et Migeбал senescallum suum, et cæteros de melioribus militiæ suæ, et multos alios quorum non erat numerus. Feria vero quarta sequenti venit iterum Saladinus cum exercitu suo, et cum Christiani vellent cum eo congredi, velocius retulit pedem; et tertia die sequenti movit castra sua, et usque ad locum qui dicitur Hoveden, 376. b. 4.
- fo. 145 r. Gerard, the Master of the Temple, dies. Oct. 11. Saladin retires.

¹ Robertus] Philip of Dreux, bishop of Beauvais, 1180-1217.

² James of Avesnes, the hero of the third crusade.

⁴ Ridesfor] Bedesford, Hoveden (ed. Savile).

² Erard II., count of Brienne.

Hoveden,
376. b. 18.

Saffran¹ divertit. Exercitus vero ejus occupaverat omnem locum a Casali Episcopi usque ad Dotum; quoniam ex quo Saladinus natus fuit nunquam antea tantum exercitum congregavit. Nam de tota terra sua nullus remansit aptus ad prælium qui non fuerit in illo exercitu adunatus. Nec credo quod aliquis unquam tantam tamque bonam aliquando alicubi viderit militiam Christianorum quantam ibi videre poterat. Et post peractum bellum venerunt quingenti milites optimi et decem millia hominum pugnatorum et armis omnibus instructorum.

A.D. 1189.
October.
Immense
assembly of
troops be-
fore Acre.

Hoveden,
376. b. 2^r,
longer.

Et eodem anno applicuerunt ibi naves et busciæ plus quam quingentæ, exceptis galeis et cursariis, quæ multæ fuerunt: et statim revertebantur usque in Apuliam, ut plus afferrent, scilicet homines et victualia. Naves autem Teutonicorum et Dacorum remanserunt apud Acram.

Arrival of
500 ships.

Quomodo obsessa est Acra a Christianis.

Hoveden,
376. b. 30.

Et est notandum quod civitas Acra obsessa erat in hunc modum. Gwydo rex Jerosolimitanus cum regina et filiabus suis hospitatus est in Thorono subtus versus mare, versus caput montis. Et Heraclius patriarcha et Gaufridus frater regis erant cum eo. Tota vero maritima, qua itur ad Chayphas, Pisani castrametati sunt, ita quod nullus ex illa parte a civitate exire poterat. Et ex alia parte Thoroni, ubi sedet Machomarum, ibi dominus Landigravus² et dominus Jacobus de Avennis, omnesque Teutonici et Januenses castra posuerunt. Postea Templum cum gente sua hospitatum est, ubi fuerant horti et cisternæ Latinorum. Hospitale cum

Arrange-
ments of the
siege of
Acre.

¹ According to Bohadin, p. 109, Saladin retreated on Oct. 12, to Cheruba, which is probably Khureibeh on Mount Carmel. Saffran is probably the place called by Bohadin

the hill of Sjaferam, now perhaps Shefa' Amar, a few miles east of Haifa; p. 144.

² Landigravus] antigravus, B.

A.D. 1189. fratribus et familia sua ibi castra posuit ubi erat hortus Hoveden, 376. b. 22.
 Investiture et terra ejusdem Hospitalis. Ex alia parte usque in
 of Acre. mare hospitati fuerunt Cunradus Marchio et multi de
 ultramontanis usque montem Musardum. Et comes
 Robertus et episcopus Belvacensis et comes Airaldus
 de Brena, et Franci et Campani cum gentibus regis
 morabantur ibi juxta Thoronum prope villam: et archi-
 episcopi cum eis, scilicet Pisanus¹ et archiepiscopus de
 Nazareth,² archiepiscopus de Besenzun,³ archiepiscopus
 de Arle-le-blanc,⁴ archiepiscopus de Montereali.⁵

The cru- Deinde Christiani fecerunt unum fossatum magnum Hoveden, 376. b. 45.
 saders in- a mari usque ad mare, ubi erat fossatum Templi inter
 trench their se et paganos: et aliud fossatum fecerunt inter se et
 camp. villam, ita quod nullum ab eis qui erant in villa time-
 bant assultum, et nullus paganorum egredi potuit de
 villa, nisi per manus eorum. Et ingenia eorum et
 perrerie Christianorum retro fossata erant, ita quod
 fo. 145 v. nullus poterat eis nocere ex parte adversa. Et ita erant
 Christiani expositi ventis et imbribus, nullas habentes
 domos vel tuguria quibus operirentur, nec inde si jurassent
 moveri poterant, sed ibi oportebat eos vivere aut
 mori. Et, ut dictum est, ita obsederunt Acram ex
 omni parte, quod nullus omnino ex ea [posset] exire,
 et de die in diem insultum faciebant in eam. Hæc
 They are be- sieged by Saladin, and in great distress.
 contra ex una parte Christianorum erat Acre, et Sa-
 ladinus ex altera. Et in veritate dico quod nulli un-
 quam Christiani in tali vel tanta fuerint expectatione,
 et nulla eis deferri victualia poterant nisi per mare.

Consecra- Eodem anno, mense Octobris, Gaufridus de Luci Win- Hoveden, 377. a. 4.
 tion of the tonsiensis electus, et Hubertus Walteri Salesbiriensis
 bishops of electus, consecrationem suam susceperunt a Baldewino
 Winchester

¹ *Pisanus*] Ubaldo Lanfranchi, 1174-1209, the standard-bearer of the Crusade. Chron. Pisan. ap. Ughelli, Italia Sacra, iii. 888.

² *Nazareth*] Letard, 1158-1190.

³ *Besenzun*] Thierry of Montfaucon, 1179-1191.

⁴ *Arle-le-Blanc*] Peter Aynard, 1183-1189.

⁵ *Montereali*] William, 1183-1191.

- Hoveden, 377. a. 4. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Londoniis apud Westmonasterium.¹ A.D. 1188. October, and Salisbury. (Oct. 22.)
- Hoveden, 377. a. 6. Eodem anno, mense Octobris,² Resus filius Griffini, dictus rex Sub-Wallise, venit in Angliam usque Oxenfordiam, per conductum Johannis comitis Meretoni fratris regis Ricardi. Et quia rex Angliæ noluit ei occurrere, indignatus est, et rediit in terram suam sine colloquio regis. Rhys ap Griffin comes to Oxford, but Richard refuses to meet him.
- Hoveden, 377. a. 40. Eodem anno, mense Novembris,³ Gaufridus Eboracensis electus, per mandatum regis Ricardi fratris sui, iivit contra Willelmum regem Scotiæ usque ad aquam de Thewdam, cum comitibus et baronibus Eboracensis syriæ; et ibi recepit eum in conductum, et perduxit in Angliam usque ad Cantuariam ad regem, administrans ei necessaria secundum consuetudinem prædecessorum suorum. November. Geoffrey is sent to conduct the king of Scotland to Canterbury.
- Hoveden, 377. a. 9. Eodem mense Novembri,⁴ Johannes cardinalis applicuit in Angliam apud Dover; et prohibitum fuit ei ex parte Alienor reginæ, ne ulterius procederet, nisi per mandatum regis filii sui; et ita factum est. John of Anagni lands.
- Hoveden, 377. a. 14. Eodem mense Ricardus rex venit Cantuariam,⁵ et fecit⁶ pacem et finalem concordiam inter Baldewinum archiepiscopum et monachos Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ in hunc modum; quod Rogerus prior,⁷ quem prædictus archiepiscopus contra voluntatem eorum fecerat, Richard visits Canterbury, and makes peace between Baldwin and the monks.

¹ Oct. 22. R. de Diceto, 649.

² During October, Richard's charters are dated at Westminster on the 6th, 7th, 9th, and 10th; at Arundel on the 14th; and at Winchester on the 17th and 22nd.

³ Richard's charters of November are dated, at Westminster on the 8th, 9th, 12th, 14th, 15th, and 18th. At S. Edmund's, where he went on pilgrimage, and kept the feast of the saint, (*Itiner. R. Ric.*, p. 145,) on the 18th, 19th, and 20th; at Westminster again on the 25th;

and at Canterbury from Nov. 26th downwards.

⁴ Nov. 20, Diceto, 649. Cf. Epp. Cantuar., 321.

⁵ Nov. 27, Gervase, 1558. There is a grant of Richard printed in the *Fœdera*, i. 49, dated Nov. 26, at Canterbury.

⁶ Dec. 1, Epp. Cantuar., 323. Nov. 29, R. de Diceto, 649. Nov. 28, Gervase, 1559. Probably the decision was arrived at on the 28th, and the deed executed on the 1st of December.

⁷ Roger Norreys.

A.D. 1189.
December.
Roger Nor-
reys made
abbot of
Evesham.

deponeretur; et capella quam idem archiepiscopus in Hoveden, 577. a. 16,
suburbio construxerat prosterneretur; et prædicti monachi facerent eidem archiepiscopo canonicam obedientiam et subjectionem, secundum regulam Sancti Benedicti, sicut facere consueverant prædecessoribus suis. Et ita factum est. Et dominus rex Ricardus ad petitionem Cantuariensis archiepiscopi dedit præfato priori deposito abbatiam de Evesham.

Huic autem paci et finali concordie interfuerunt rex Hoveden, 577. a. 28.
Ricardus et Alienor regina mater ejus, et fere omnes episcopi, abbates et priores Angliæ, qui omnes sigilla sua apposuerunt scripto illi in quo prædicta continebatur concordia.¹

Arrival of
the king of
Scotland
and earl of
Huntingdon
at Canter-
bury.

Eodem anno, mense Decembri,² apud Cantuariam, in Hoveden, 577. a. 44.
crastino hujus pacis et concordie, Willelmus rex Scottorum, et David frater ejus, et Gaufridus Eboracensis electus venerunt ad regem Angliæ. Et rex Scottorum fecit ei homagium pro dignitatibus suis habendis in Anglia, sicut reges Scottorum prædecessores sui habere solebant temporibus regum Angliæ. Ricardus vero rex Angliæ reddidit ei castellum de Rôchesburc, et castellum de Berewic libera et absoluta; et eum et omnes hæredes suos quietos clamavit in perpetuum ab ipso et regibus Angliæ de omni ligantia et subjectione de regno Scotiæ. Et pro hac redemptione castellorum suorum, et quieta clamantia fidelitatis et ligantie de regno Scotiæ, et pro carta regis inde habenda, Willelmus rex Scottorum dedit Ricardo regi Angliæ decem millia marcarum sterlingorum.

Richard
restores to
Scotland
Roxburgh
and Ber-
wick, and
releases
the king
from his
allegiance.
(Dec. 5.)

fo. 146 r^o.

John of
Anagni is
solemnly
received at
Canterbury.

Eodem mense Johannes Cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis Hoveden, 577. a. 57, shorter.
legatus, venit Cantuariam per mandatum regis, et a rege et ab archiepiscopis et episcopis cum sollemni processione receptus in ecclesia Sanctæ Trinitatis Can-

¹ Hoveden gives the names of the witnesses to the final agreement.

² If the date of the final decision

of the king in the Hakington case is right, the king of Scotland must have arrived at Canterbury on the 2nd of December.

Hoveden,
377. a. 37.

tuaræ, indigne ferebat quod in absentia ejus, qui ad litem illam dirimendam a latere summi pontificis missus erat in Angliam, pax et concordia facta esset inter Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et monachos Sanctæ Trinitatis.

A.D. 1199.
December.Hoveden,
377. b. 42.

Eodem mense Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Johanni fratri suo in augmentum, comitatum Cornubiæ, et comitatum Devonix, et comitatum de Dorseta, et comitatum de Sumerseta. Et idem rex dedit ibidem Alienor reginæ matri suæ, totum dodarium quod rex Henricus avus patris sui dederat Matildi reginæ uxori suæ, et totum dodarium quod rex Stephanus dederat Aliciæ reginæ uxori suæ, et totum dodarium quod Henricus pater suus dederat ei.

Richard gives to John four counties; and to Eleanor the dower of three queens.

Hoveden,
377. b. 34.

Eodem die ibidem, Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus et Hubertus Salesbiriensis episcopus appellaverunt Gaufridum Eboracensem electum ad sedem apostolicam, coram prædicto cardinali et apostolicæ sedis legato, et coram omnibus supradictis archiepiscopis et episcopis, [et] abbatibus; dicentes eum non fuisse canonice electum quia ipsi aberant quando ipse eligebatur. Et Buccardus Eboracensis thesaurarius, et Henricus ejusdem ecclesiæ decanus, appellaverunt eum ad sedem apostolicam, dicentes quod ipse homicida erat, et in adulterio genitus, et de scorto natus; et ideo non esset dignus promoveri ad summum sacerdotii gradum. Et quamvis omnes adversarentur illi, tamen prædictus Anagninus cardinalis electionem de illo factam ratam habuit; et eam auctoritate quaungebatur, vice Clementis summi pontificis affirmavit; et sigilli sui munimine corroboravit.¹

The bishop of Durham and Hubert Walter appeal against the election of Geoffrey.

The dean and treasurer of York appeal against him as a bastard and homicide, but the legate confirms him.

Quibus peractis, dominus rex dedit Alienor reginæ matri suæ, et Johanni comiti de Meretona fratri suo, et Willelmo regi Scottorum, et universis clero et populo licentiam repatriandi. Et unusquisque reversus est in regionem suam magnificans et laudans magnalia regis.

The council breaks up.

¹ The act was confirmed by pope Clement III., March 7, 1190. R. de Dic., 653.

A.D. 1189.
Dec. 5.

Richard
goes to
Dover.

Et ipse vero rex, quinta die Decembris, feria tertia,¹ recessit a Cantuaria, et profectus est usque Doveram ad transfretandum; ubi multæ naves per mandatum illius venerant de diversis partibus Angliæ.

Hoveden,
377. b. 47.

Dec. 6.
Benediction
of Roger,
abbot of
Selby.

In crastino autem adventus sui ad Doveram, Rogerus electus ad abbatiam Sancti Germani de Selebi, recepit apud Doveram, die Sancti Nicolai, benedictionem suam ab Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo per præceptum regis, contra prohibitionem Gaufridi Eboracensis electi.

Hoveden,
377. b. 50.

Geoffrey
buys the
king's good-
will with
three thou-
sand pounds,
and Richard
restores to
him all his
father's
gifts; grant-
ing also
great privi-
leges to the
see of York.

Videns igitur Gaufridus Eboracensis electus, quod nisi mediante pecunia ipse amorem regis fratris sui nullatenus habere posset, promisit ei tria millia librarum esterlingorum pro amore ejus habendo. Et rex reddidit ei archiepiscopatum Eboracensem, et carta sua confirmavit. Et reddidit ei omnes laicos feudos quos Henricus rex pater suus illi dederat citra mare et ultra; scilicet villam de Wicumba cum pertinentiis suis; et in Normannia comitatum Giffardi; et in Andegavia honorem de Baugi cum pertinentiis. Et idem rex clamavit Deo et Sancto Petro Eboraci, et eidem Gaufrido Eboracensi electo, et omnibus archiepiscopis ei succedentibus, omnes terras suas, et canonicorum suorum, quietas in perpetuum de rewardo forestæ, et ab omnibus aliis exigentiis et gravaminibus forestæ et forestariorum. Et liberam potestatem dedit ei, et carta sua confirmavit licentiam capiendi venationem per omnes præbendas suas in Eboraci et Notinham syriis. Præterea Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, et Walterus episcopus,² et Henricus Eboracensis ecclesiæ decanus, et Buccardus thesaurarius, per præceptum regis remiserunt appellationes quas fecerant contra Eboracensem electum. Et ipse Eboracensis electus ad petitionem regis confirmavit prædicto Henrico decanatum Eboraci, et Buccardo the-

Hoveden,
377. b. 52.

no. 146 v.

The appeals
against him
are with-
drawn, and
he confirms
the dean
and treas-
urer.

¹ *tertia*] quarta, B. J.; *tertia*, Hoveden, rightly. In this passage Brompton agrees with our MS., although he has placed the Scottish

charter in the same place as Hoveden.

² Hubert Walter. Cf. Hoveden.

Hoveden,
378. a. 13.

saulariam. Et Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo confirmavit privilegia sua, et conventiones quæ fuerunt inter ipsum et Rogerum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, promittens quod ipse omnia confirmaret sigillo consecrationis suæ.

A.D. 1189.
December.
He confirms
the privi-
leges of
Hugh of
Durham.

Hoveden,
378. a. 15.

Deinde Ricardus rex Angliæ xi^o. die Decembris,¹ in vigilia Sanctæ Lucie virginis et martyris transfretavit a Dovera usque Kalais in Flandriam. Et ibi recepit eum Philippus comes Flandriæ cum gaudio, et perduxit usque Normanniam. Cum rege vero transfretaverunt Johannes Anagninus cardinalis, Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, Henricus Bajocensis et Johannes Ebroicensis episcopi.

Dec. 11.
Richard
crosses over
to Calais.

Hoveden,
378. a. 20,
with some
differences.
M. Paris,
154. 12.

Et rex dimisit post se in Anglia Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum totius Angliæ summum justitiarium; et Willelmum Eliensem episcopum cancellarium suum, Hugonem Bardolf, et Willelmum Bruer² constituit collegas prædicti Dunelmensis episcopi in justitiis faciendis. Et tradidit prædicto cancellario suo, unum sigillorum suorum ad mandata sua facienda in regno, et tradidit illi turrin Lundoniarum in custodia; et Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo castellum de Winde-shoveres cum forestis et comitatu. Sed idem Dunelmensis moleste ferebat quod alius quam ille habebat turrin Lundoniarum; et statim animadvertit ipsum factum fuisse justitiarium non zelo justitiæ, sed ut pecunia sua ab illo extorqueretur. Et ita factum est; ipse enim et cancellarius in paucis unanimes exstiterunt; nec mirum, "omnis" namque "potestas"

He leaves
Hugh of
Durham
justiciar,
with Wil-
liam Long-
champ as
chancellor.

Hugh is
jealous of
the chan-
cellor.

"Impatiens consortis erit."

Lucan,
Pharsalia,
l. 94.

Hoveden,
378. a. 30.

Eodem anno, mense Novembris, Willelmus rex Siciliæ et ducatus Apuliæ, et principatus Capusæ, qui Johannam

Death of the
king of
Sicily.

¹ The 12th of December was the eve of S. Lucy. Hoveden places the day of sailing on Monday, the 11th. R. de Diceto makes the king land at Gravelines on the 14th.

² Hoveden adds William Marshall and Geoffrey Fitz Peter to the number of associates.

A.D. 1189. *He leaves his dominions to his aunt Constance, wife of Henry, king of the Germans.* filiam Henrici regis Angliæ et sororem regis Ricardi *Hoveden, 578. a. 31.* in uxorem duxerat, obiit¹ in Sicilia in nobili civitate Panormi sine prole. Qui etiam fere quindecim annis ante obitum suum constituit Constantiam, filiam Rogeri primi regis Siciliæ coronati avi sui, hæredem post se in regno suo [si] sine prole decessisset. Et fecit omnes principes regni, tam clericos quam laicos, jurare fidelitates prædictæ Constantiæ contra omnes homines, salva fidelitate sua. Deinde dedit eam in uxorem Henrico regi Alemannorum, filio Frederici imperatoris Romanorum.

Tancred, count of Lecce, usurps the crown of Sicily. Defuncto autem prædicto Willelmo rege Siciliæ, *Hoveden, 578. a. 35.* Tanchredus comes de Laliþe,² filius fratris patris jam dicti Willelmi, regnum Siciliæ sibi usurpavit, transgressus sacramentum quod fecerat prænominatæ Constantiæ.

Richard releases the king of Scotland from his allegiance. Dec. 5. He restores Roxburgh and Berwick. Eodem anno, antequam rex Ricardus ab Anglia egrederetur versus Jerosolimam, quietum clamavit Willelmum regem Scottorum de omni subjectione quam Henricus rex Angliæ pater suus ab eo per captionem suam extorserat, et fecit ei inde cartam suam in hunc modum.

fo. 147 r°. " Ricardus,³ Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et *Hoveden, 577. b. 1.*
" Aquitanniæ, comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis,
" abbatibus, comitibus et baronibus, justitiis, vicecomitibus, et
" omnibus ministris⁴ et fidelibus suis totius Angliæ, salutem.
" Sciatis nos⁵ consanguineo nostro Willelmo⁶ regi Scottorum
" reddidisse castella sua Rokesburo et Berewic, tanquam ejus⁷
" jure hæreditario ab eo et hæredibus⁸ in perpetuum possidenda.
" Præterea quietavimus ei omnes consuetudines et⁹ pactiones

¹ Nov. 16.

² Tancred, count of Lecce; king of Sicily, 1189-1194.

³ This is printed in the *Fœdera*, i. 50, from the original in the Treasury of Receipt of the Exchequer, collated here under the signature O., mere transpositions excepted.

⁴ *ministrie*] ballivis, O.

⁵ *nos*] carissimo, ins. O. H.

⁶ *Willelmo*] eadem gratia, ins. O.

H.

⁷ *ejus*] propria, O. H.

⁸ *hæredibus*] ejus, ins. O.; suis, ins. H.

⁹ *consuetudines et*] om. O.; conventiones, H.

Hoveden
377. b. 2.

" quas bonae memoriae¹ pater meus² Henricus rex³ per novas
" cartas et per captionem suam extorsit. Ita scilicet⁴ ut mihi⁵
" faciat integre et plenarie, quod⁶ rex Scottorum Malcolmus
" frater ejus antecessoribus nostris fecit de jure et de jure facere
" debuerit.⁷ Et nos faciemus⁸ ei quicquid antecessores nostri
" praedicto Malcolmo de jure fecerunt et facere debuerunt;
" scilicet in conductu⁹ veniendo ad curiam, et redeundo a curia,
" et in morando in curia, et in procurationibus et in omnibus
" libertatibus, dignitatibus et honoribus ejusdem jure debitis;
" secundum quod recognoscetur a quatuor proceribus nostris ab
" ipso Willelmo rege electis, et a quatuor proceribus illius a
" nobis electis. Si autem fines sive¹⁰ marchias regni Scottiae All en-
" aliquis nostrorum hominum postquam rex praedictus Willel- croachment
" mus a patre nostro captus fuit,¹¹ usurpaverit, absque judicio,¹² made since
" volumus ut integre restituantur, et ad eum statum reducantur, William's
" quo erant ante ejus captionem. Praeterea de terris suis quas captivity are
" habet¹³ in Anglia, seu dominiciis seu feudis, scilicet in comi- restored.
" tatu Huntendonae et in omnibus aliis, in ea libertate et
" plenitudine¹⁴ possideat, et haeredes ejus in perpetuum, quas¹⁵
" Malcolmus possedit vel possidere debuit, nisi praedictus¹⁶
" Malcolmus vel haeredes sui aliquid postea¹⁷ infeodaverint. Ita
" tamen quod si qua¹⁸ postea infeodata sunt, ipsorum feodorum
" servitia ad eum vel¹⁹ haeredes ejus pertineant. Et siquid²⁰ The posses-
" pater noster praedictus²¹ Willelmo regi donaverit,²² ratum et sions of
" firmum habere volumus.²³ Reddidimus etiam²⁴ ligantias ho- William in
" minum suorum²⁵ et omnes cartas quas dominus²⁶ pater noster England confirmed,
" de eo habuit per captionem suam. Et si aliquis alius²⁷ forte and the
" per oblivionem retentae aut inventae fuerint, eas penitus viribus homage
" of the
" Scottish
" nobles
" given up.

¹ *bonae memoriae*] bonus, O.

² *meus*] noster, O. Richard I. is said to have been the first king of England who spoke of himself in the plural number. Brompton here follows Hoveden.

³ *rex*] Angliae, ins. O. H.

⁴ *scilicet*] videlicet, O. H.

⁵ *mihi*] nobis, O. H.

⁶ *quod*] quicquid, O.

⁷ *debuerit*] debuit, O. H.

⁸ *faciemus*] faciamus, O. H.

⁹ *in conductu*] de conductu in, O.

¹⁰ *fines sive*] om. O.

¹¹ *fuit*] injuste, O.

¹² *absque judicio*] om. O.

¹³ *habet*] haberet, O. H.

¹⁴ *plenitudine*] consuetudine, O.

¹⁵ *quas*] praefatus rex, ins. O.

¹⁶ *praedictus*] rex, ins. O.

¹⁷ *postea*] forte, O.

¹⁸ *qua*] aliqua, O.

¹⁹ *vel*] et ad, O.

²⁰ *siquid*] terram quam, O.

²¹ *praedictus*] praescripto, O.

²² *donaverit*] donavit, O.

²³ *ratum . . . volumus*] in eadem libertate qua ipsam ei dedit, ipsum et haeredes suos perpetuo possidere volumus. O.

²⁴ *etiam*] ei, ins. O.

²⁵ *suorum*] quas pater noster receperat, O.

²⁶ *dominus*] om. O.

²⁷ *aliquis alius*] quum, O.

A.D. 1180, Dec. 5. "carere præcipimus. Ipse autem¹ ligius homo noster devenit"² "de omnibus terris de quibus antecessores sui ligii homines antecessorum nostrorum fuerunt, et nobis fidelitatem juravit et hæredibus nostris. Valet."³

fo. 148 r.
Richard
keeps
Christmas
at Bur.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M^oC^oXC^o, Ricardus rex Angliæ fuit in Normannia apud Burum⁴ die Nativitatis Dominicæ, quæ secunda feria evenit; et tenuit ibi sollemne festum cum primatibus terræ illius. Erat enim Nativitas illa Dominica proxima post coronationem suam.

Conference
between
Richard and
Philip.

Et post Natale Domini prædictus rex Ricardus habuit colloquium cum Philippo rege Franciæ ad vadium Sancti Remigii,⁵ ubi pacem firmam statuerunt inter se

¹ *Ipse autem*] Sæpe dictus vero W. rex, O.

² *devenit*] deveniat, O.

³ Ut autem ratum et firmum sit istud et perpetuum, præsentī carta et sigillo nostro id roboravimus. Testibus, Baldewino Cantuar. et Waltero Rothomag. et J. Dublinen. archiepiscopis; Hugone Dunelm. Hugone Lincolnien., Godfrido Wintonien., Huberto Saresberien., Reginaldo Bathonien. episcopis; domino Johanne fratre nostro, R. comite Leicestræ, H. comite de Waren', H. Bardolf, Steph. de Longo Campo dapifero nostro, et aliis multis, v. die Decembris. Dat. per manum W. Elyen. electi, cancellarii nostri, apud Cantuar., regni nostri anno primo. O.

Hoveden gives the names of the witnesses differently: the archbishops of Canterbury and Rouen; the bishops of Durham, Norwich, Salisbury, Lincoln, Winchester, Rochester, Bath, Coventry, and Worcester; John and Eleanor, "cum multis aliis."

⁴ *Burum*] The *Itinerarium*, ii. 6, makes Richard spend Christmas at Lions-la-Forêt. Bur is near Bayeux, and certainly a long way from

Lions. See R. de Monte, ad ann. 1170, &c.

⁵ Near Nonancourt, v. vol. i. p. 272. The *Itinerarium* places the first conference at Dreux. Probably the Gué S. Remi was chosen as equidistant from both. Wilken *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, iv. 148, 149, distinguishing between the conference of Nonancourt and that of Dreux, placing the latter on the 15th of March, on which day the queen of France died. But there were really three conferences, all probably at Gué S. Remi: (1) Dec. 30, in which the treaty described in the text was drawn up. This date is given in the copy of the treaty in the *Fœdera*, i. 50: "Acta sunt hæc xxx. die Decembris apud Nonancourt.;" but as it was made on a Saturday, it was thought to require confirmation. (2) Jan. 13, in which the treaty was confirmed, as in the text; and (3) that of March 15, on which day queen Isabella died. That this was held in the same place appears from a charter of Richard, dated March 14, at Nonancourt. *Fœd.* i. 51. Between Dec. 30 and Jan. 13 the king was at Verneuil. (*Mon. Angl.* vi. 1115.)

Hoveden,
378. b. 27.

Hoveden,
378. a. 48,
M. Paris,
156, 48.

Hoveden,
378. a. 48,
M. Paris,
156, 48.

Hoveden,
378. a. 58.
M. Paris,
154. 46.

et regna sua. Et ipsi eam scriptis commendatam sacramento et sigillis suis confirmaverunt in festo Sancti Hilarii. Et archiepiscopi et episcopi utriusque regni in verbo veritatis, et comites et barones regnorum præstito sacramento juraverunt quod ipsi pacem illam fideliter tenerent et servarent illibatam. Erat autem hæc forma pacis: Quod uterque illorum honorem alterius servaret, et fidem ei portaret de vita et membris et terreno honore suo. Et quod neuter illorum alteri deficeret in negotiis suis; sed rex Franciæ ita juvaret regem Angliæ ad terram suam defendendam, ac si ille vellet civitatem suam Parisius defendere si esset obsessa. Et rex Angliæ juvaret regi Franciæ ac si vellet ipse civitatem suam Rotomagi defendere, si obsessa esset. Comites autem et barones utriusque regni juraverunt, quod a fidelitate regum non discederent nec guerram moverent ullam in terris illorum quamdiu ipsi fuerint in peregrinatione sua. Archiepiscopi vero et episcopi firmiter promiserunt in verbo veritatis quod in transgressores hujus pacis et conventionis sententiam excommunicationis darent. Præterea prædicti reges statuerunt, quod si alter eorum decessisset in illa peregrinatione, alter qui supervixerit pecunias defuncti haberet et homines ad servitium Dei faciendum. Et quia ad præfixum terminum parati esse non poterant, iter suum Jerosolimitanum arripere, distulerunt illud usque ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, statuantes quod tunc immutabiliter essent apud Wize-liacum.

A.D. 1194.
Jan. 12.
Confirmation
of the
agreement
for the
period of
the crusade.

Hoveden,
378. b. 33.

Eodem anno, post Purificationem beatæ Dei genitricis Mariæ, Alienor regina mater regis Ricardi, et Alays soror Philippi regis Franciæ, et Baldewinus¹ Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Johannes Norwicensis episcopus; Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus; Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus; Reinaldus Batoniensis episcopus;

February.
The queen
and bishops
go to Nor-
mandy.

¹ Baldwin sailed March 6. Gervase, 1564.

A.D. 1190.
March.
Council in
Normandy.

William
Longchamp
is made
justiciar of
England;
and Hugh
of Durham
is the
North.

Jeffrey and
John over-
see to
return to
England
for three
years; but
John is
released
from the
oath.

fr. 146 v.

William
Long-
champ's
tyrannical
conduct in
England.

Willelmus Eliensis episcopus; Hubertus Salisburiensis episcopus; Hugo Cestrensis episcopus; Gaufridus Eboracensis electus et frater regis Ricardi; et Johannes comes Meretonii frater regis, transfretaverunt de Anglia in Normanniam per mandatum regis. Et habito cum illis consilio, dominus rex statuit Willelmum Elyensem episcopum cancellarium suum, summum justitiarium Angliæ. Et concessit Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo justitiarium a flumine Humbri usque ad terram regis Scotiæ. Et [fecit] Gaufridum Eboracensem electum et Johannem comitem Moretanii fratres suos jurare quod Angliam non intrarent ab illa hora ante annos tres præteritos, nisi per licentiam illius. Sed postmodum, per consilium Alienor reginæ matris suæ, relaxavit Johanni fratri suo sacramentum quod fecerat, et dedit ei licentiam redeundi in Angliam. Et misit in Angliam Willelmum justitiarium suum, scilicet Eliensem episcopum cancellarium suum, ad præparandum sibi et itineri suo necessaria. Et rex cum nunciis prædicti Eliensis episcopi, misit nuncios suos ad Clementem summum pontificem, et obtinuit ad opus illius legationem¹ totius Angliæ. Venit igitur cancellarius ille in Angliam, et fecit turrin Londoniarum circumdari profundissimo fossato, sperans quod Tamesis fluvius per fossatum illud transiret. Deinde cepit ad opus regis de unaquaque civitate Angliæ duos palefridos et duos sumarios de auxilio; et de unaquaque abbacia Angliæ unum palefridum, et unum sumarium; et de unoquoque proprio manerio regis unum palefridum et unum sumarium.

Haroldus,
282, b. 22.

M. Paris,
187, 48.

¹ Longchamp's commission as legate is dated June 5, 1190. R. de Diceto, 655.

*De miserabili occisione Judæorum apud Eboracum.*A.D. 1190.
March 16.Hoveden,
378 a. 1.
M. Paris,
187, 30.

Eodem anno, mense Martio,¹ xvii^o. kalendas Aprilis, Dominica in Ramis Palmarum, Judæi civitatis Eboraci numero quingenti, viri ac mulieres exceptis parvulis, timentes impetum Christianorum, incluserunt se infra turrim Eboraci consensu et voluntate custodis ejusdem turris et vicecomitis. Qua cum idem vicecomes et custos turris recepissent, Judæi noluerunt eis illam tradere, unde vicecomes et custos turris valde indignati sunt; et in quantum poterant hortabantur milites comitatus et homines civitatis, ut turrim liberarent a Judæis illis. Qui cum insultum fecissent in turrim die ac nocte, Judæi obtulerunt pecuniam magnam oppido pro vita habenda; et noluit populus recipere. Tunc surrexit quidam legisperitus et ait, "Viri Israelitæ, audite consilium meum. Melius est nobis nobis mori pro lege nostra, quam incidere in manus inimicorum legis nostræ; et illud idem præcepit lex nostra." Omnes igitur Judæi, tam viri quam mulieres, assensum præbuerunt consilio illi. Et accedens unusquisque paterfamilias cum novaculo acuto inprimis inciderunt guttura uxorum et filiorum et filiarum suarum; deinde totius familiæ suæ. Et projecerunt mortuos suos quos sacrificaverant dæmoniis extra muros turris super populum. Cæteros autem interfectos et seipsos incluserunt in domo regis; et appposito igne seipsos et domos regis combusserunt. Hæc autem interfectio Judæorum facta fuit in civitate Eboraci anno M^oC^oXC^o., feria sexta ante Dominicam Palmarum. Deinde cives Eboraci et milites comitatus combusserunt domos Judæorum, et possessiones eorum diripiebant sibi, et cartas universorum debitorum combusserunt.

The Jews
of York
shut them-
selves up in
a tower for
fear of per-
secution.They are
besieged by
the sheriff.They mur-
der their
wives and
children,
and burn
themselves
in the
tower.The men
of York
plunder
their
houses.

¹ Martio] Februario, B. The day meant is evidently the Friday before Palm Sunday, March 16.

A.D. 1190.
March.
The queen of France dies.
Eodem anno obiit Isabel regina Franciæ, filia comitis de Enou, antequam rex Franciæ iter Jerosolimitanum arripuisset.¹

Hoveden,
379. a. 21.

March 26.
Easter.
Eodem anno, Annunciatio Dominica evenit in ipso die Paschæ, quod a multis retro temporibus inauditum est.²

Hoveden,
379. a. 22.

The bishop of Ely is made legate, and becomes all-powerful in England.
Interim nuncii Willelmi Eliensis episcopi et domini regis redierunt a summo pontifice, per quos summus pontifex in mandatis dederat quod tota ecclesia esset subjecta in ecclesiasticis causis Willelmo Eliensi episcopo, sanctæ Romanæ sedis legato. Auctoritate igitur legationis suæ prædictus Eliensis episcopus et domini regis cancellarius, et totius Angliæ justitiarius, clerum et populum opprimebat, confundens fasque nefasque: nec erat in regno qui ausus est resistere ei neque in verbo neque in opere.

Hoveden,
379. a. 24.

April.
He goes to
fo. 149 r.
York, and
removes the
sheriff, and
arrests the
persecutors
of the Jews.
Post Pascha,³ prædictus regis cancellarius, magno congregato exercitu, Eboracum venit ad malefactores illos comprehendendos qui Judæos civitatis destruxerunt: et cognito quod per præceptum vicecomitis et custodem turris hoc factum fuisset; utrumque deposuit, et a civibus civitatis obsides cepit de fide et pace servanda regi et regno, et quod juri starent in curia domini regis de morte Judæorum. Milites autem provincie præcepit comprehendere, qui ad destructionem Judæorum erant. Clericos vero ecclesiæ Eboraci, et ipsam metropolitanam sub interdicto posuit, quia noluerunt eum recipere sicut apostolicæ sedis legatum, neque cum processione neque cum sonitu campanarum. Et campanas ejusdem ecclesiæ in terram deponere fecit, et canonicos et vicarios ejusdem ecclesiæ tamdiu sub

Hoveden,
379. a. 25.

He places
the church
under an
interdict.

¹ Isabella died March 15, 1190.
Rigord.

² Not since the year 1117.

³ The chancellor was in Nor-

mandy as late as March 27, which was Easter Tuesday, on which day he dates a charter at Lions. Ford.
i. 51.

Hoveden,
379. a. 46.

interdicto arctius tenuit donec omnes ad eum venirent ad satisfactionem. A.D. 1199.

Hoveden,
379. a. 46,
shorter.

Interim¹ dominus rex dedit Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo licentiam redeundi in Angliam, et mandavit cancellario quod concesserat eidem Dunelmensi episcopo justitiam a flumine Humbri usque ad terram regis Scotiæ, a mari usque ad mare, in longitudinem et latitudinem. Qui cum in Angliam venisset, et obviasset cancellario in villa de Blya redeunti de civitate Eboraci, tradidit illi litteras domini regis. Quibus cancellarius respondit se facturum libenter mandatum domini regis; et protrahens eum de die in diem, duxit eum secum usque Lundonias; et injiciens manus in eum tenuit donec ille reddidisset ei castellum de Windeshovers et comitatum cum forestis, et Novum Castellum super Tynam cum comitatu; et manerium de Saberga quod rex Sancto Cuthberto in perpetuum dederat. Insuper et idem episcopus dedit Henricum de Puteaco filium suum, et Gillebertum de Leya obsides, quod pacem servaret regi et regno ejus. Ita his peractis, episcopus Dunelmensis per licentiam cancellarii a Lundoniis recedens venit ad villam suam quæ dicitur Hovendena; ubi cum moram fecisset, Willelmus de Stutevil, et vicecomes Eboraci² venerunt ad eum ex parte cancellarii, et prohibuerunt eum ne ulterius procederet nisi per licentiam ipsius vel domini regis. Episcopus vero data securitate quod ulterius non pro-

The bishop of Durham returns to England;

he meets the chancellor at Rlythe, and is taken by him to London, where he is forced to surrender Windsor Newcastle and Badberge, and to give hostages for peace.

He goes northwards to Howden, and is forbidden to proceed.

¹ There are two charters of Richard dated at Reole in Aquitaine, one Feb. 2, in Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus*, i. 637; the other Feb. 3, quoted by Dr. Prutz in his life of Henry the Lion, from *Origines Guelphicæ*, iii. 731. Richard's movements, so far as they can be discovered from the charters in the *Fœdera*, were during March confined to Normandy. He

was at Nonancourt March 14; at Rouen March 20, 22, 24; at Lions March 27. The bishop of Durham was with him at Lions on that day. On the 20th of April the king was at Saumur. (*Mon. Angl.*, vi. 638.)

² Osbert of Longchamp, the chancellor's brother, (Hoveden, 379. a. 35,) whom he had just made sheriff.

A.D. 1190. cederet ibidem remansit ; et mittens nuncios suos ad regem significavit ei omnia quæ cancellarius ei fecerat. Unde rex iratus, præcepit Novum Castellum super Tynam reddi prædicto episcopo Dunelmensi, et manerium de Sadberga cum wapentac et feodis militum ; et iterum cartam suam fecit ei inde.

Richard appoints justiciars of his fleet.

Interim Ricardus rex¹ per consilium archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, comitum et baronum suorum, elegit Girardum archiepiscopum Auxiensem,² et Bernardum episcopum de Baonia,³ et Robertum de Sablol, et Ricardum de Chamvil, et Willelmum de Forz de Olrūn ; et constituit eos justitios super totum navigium suum, scilicet Angliæ et Normanniæ, Pictaviæ et Britanniæ, quod in terram Jerosolimitanam iturum erat ; et tradidit illis cartam suam in hac forma :

Richard's laws for his crusading fleet. Murderers to be drowned or buried alive.

fo. 140 v^o. Bloodshed punished by mutilation ; a bloodless blow by dipping in the sea. Abusive language by a fine.

Thieves to be tarred and feathered.

“ Ricardus, Dei gratia, etc., omnibus hominibus suis Jerosolimam per mare ituris, salutem. Sciatis nos de communibus virorum consilio has fecisse justitias subscriptas. “ Qui hominem in navi interfecerit, cum mortuo ligatus projiciatur in mari. Si autem in terra interfecerit, cum mortuo ligatus in terra infodiatur. “ Si quis autem per legitimos testes convictus fuerit, quod cultellum suum ad alium percutiendum extraxerit, aut qui alium ad sanguinem percusserit, pugnum perdat. Si autem de palma percusserit sine effusione sanguinis tribus vicibus mergatur in mari. “ Si quis autem socio opprobrium et convicia aut odium Dei injecerit, quot vicibus conviciatus fuerit, tot uncias argenti det. “ Latro autem de furto convictus tondeatur ad similitudinem campionis, et pix bulliens super caput ejus effundatur, et pluma pulvinaris super caput ejus excutiat ad cognoscen-

Hoveden, 379. b. 1.

Hoveden, 380. a. 17.

Hoveden, 379. b. 4. M. Paris, 158, 50.

Hoveden, 379. b. 10. M. Paris, 158, 54.

¹ Hoveden places these acts at Chinon, whither the king had returned after a visit to Gascony, during which he had taken the castle of William de Chisi, and hanged him. Hoveden, 379. b. 3. Richard was at Bayonne on the 6th of June. R. de Diceto, 655. He

was at Chinon June 20, Tours on the 24th and 25th of June. Ford. i. 48.

² Gerard de la Barte, archbishop of Anch.

³ Bernard de la Carra, bishop of Bayonne.

Hoveden, 579. b. 24.

dum eum, et in prima terra qua naves applicuerint, projiciatur. Teste meipso apud Chinonem."¹

A.D. 1190.
June.

Hoveden, 579. b. 25, shorter.
M. Paris, 159, 7.

Item idem rex Ricardus præcepit in alio brevi suo, quod omnes homines sui per mare Jerosolimam ituri essent obedientes præceptis et consiliis prædictorum justitiariorum navium suorum, sicut semetipsos et redditum eorum in terris suis diligerent, et ut supradictas assisas suas jurassent se fideliter servaturos.

M. Paris, 159, 8.

Deinde præcepit rex prædictis justitiariis navigii sui, ut iter arripuissent quam citius possent; et fecerunt sicut præceperat rex.

The fleet is ordered to sail.

Hoveden, 579. b. 25, shorter.
M. Paris, 159, 10.

Rex autem et Philippus rex Franciæ venerunt ad Wizeliacum,² ubi sanctissimum corpus beatæ Mariæ Magdaleniæ requiescit; et ibi moram fecerunt per duos dies in octavis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ.

July 4.
The kings meet at Vezelai.

Rex vero Angliæ ibi³ recepit peram et baculum signa peregrinationis suæ. Et rex Franciæ ante recessum suum de terra sua receperat baculum et peram in ecclesia Sancti Dionysii.⁴

Richard receives the scrip and staff.

¹ The exact date of this document must be before the 24th of June, perhaps about the 20th, on which day the king was at Chinon. (Stapleton, *Rolls of Norman Exch.*, i. cxlv.) On that day Richard was at Tours, as also on the 25th. On the 26th he probably set out for Vezelai. The *Itinerarium* gives the stages of his journey as follows: (1) Azai; (2) Montrieux, where he was on the 27th of June, *Fœd.* i. 48; (3) Celles; (4) La Chapelle; (5) Danzi, where he was on the 1st of July, — *Fœd.* i. 48, and *Mon. Angl.*, i. 485; (6) Vezelai, where he was on July 3, (*Mon. Angl.*, vi. 326,) where Philip met him on the 4th of July. Rigord, 186.

² The kings met at Vezelai on the 4th of July, (not the 11th, as I

have wrongly stated in the *Itinerarium*, p. cxviii). Rigord, 186.

³ Hoveden places Richard's reception of the scrip and staff at Tours before the journey to Vezelai, adding that he received them from William archbishop of Tours: but the archbishop of Tours was Bartholomew. Richard did, however, start from Tours (*Itiner.* ii. 7); and at Tours, according to Richard of Devizes, the two kings had a conference before going to Vezelai.

⁴ June 24, Rigord, 186. M. Paris, having the text before him, confounds apparently the investiture of Richard with that of Philip; "et rex Anglorum ibi peram recepit et baculum in ecclesia Sancti Dionysii," p. 159.

A.D. 1180.
July.
The kings
come to
Lyons,
where the
bridge
breaks
down.

Philip goes
to Genoa;
Richard to
Marseilles.

After stay-
eight days
at Mar-
seilles, he
sails.

August 7.
Richard
coasts from
Marseilles
to Venti-
miglia.

Deinde prædicti duo reges processerunt cum familiis suis inde. Et cum venissent ad civitatem Leonum supra Rodanum, et ipsi cum maiore parte familiarum suarum pontem Rodani præterissent, pons ille cecidit non sine læsione virorum ac mulierum. Ibidem etiam præfati reges divisi sunt ab invicem propter nimiam hominum copiam sequentium illos; unus enim locus eos capere non potuit. Rex vero Franciæ cum suis perrexit usque ad Genuza, et ibi naves ascendit Jerosolimam iturus. Rex autem Angliæ cum suis perrexit usque ad Marsiliam, ubi multos invenit peregrinos, qui jam propter longam moram quam ibi fecerant, totum æs suum expenderant. Et venerunt ad regem et obtulerunt ei servitia sua, de quibus rex multos retinuit.

Cum vero ibidem rex per octo dies moram fecisset,¹ exspectans et sperans de die in diem adventum navigii sui, fraudatus a desiderio suo conduxit decem buccias magnas et viginti galeas bene armatas; dolens et confusus cum famulis suis intravit.

Septimo autem die Augusti recessit rex Angliæ Ricardus a Marsilia in galea Pambone, et transivit per insulam Sancti Stephani, per Aquilam, per Montem Nigrum, per insulam Sancti Honorati, per civitatem de Nicis, per civitatem de Witemile.² Et est sciendum, inter Nices et Witemile est divisio terrarum regis Arrogoniæ et Italiæ. Deinde transivit per Sanc-

Hoveden,
279. b. 31.
M. Paris,
159, 12.

Hoveden,
280. a. 27.
M. Paris,
159, 21.

Hoveden,
280. a. 41.
M. Paris,
159, 24.

¹ The stay of eight days at Marseilles, and the departure on the 7th of August, enables us to fix Richard's arrival there about the 31st of July. The author of the *Itinerarium* sailed on the 16th of August, having been three weeks at Marseilles. He must therefore have arrived about the 26th. The march from Lyons to Marseilles took fourteen days, and that from Vezelai to Lyons eight. Richard

spent three days at Lyons. We get therefore the following approximate dates of Richard's movements:

1. The march from Vezelai to Lyons, July 6 to July 14.
2. Three days at Lyons, July 14 to July 17.
3. March from Lyons to Marseilles, July 17 to July 31.
4. Eight days at Marseilles, July 31 to August 7.

² *Witemile*] Wentimile, H.

- Hoveden,**
389. a. 48. tam Mariam de Funz, et per Nole; et tertiadecima die Augusti transivit per castellum quod dicitur Seune;¹ et eodem die venit ad Januam, ubi locutus est cum rege Franciæ, qui ibi infirmabatur.² A.D. 1199.
August 13.
He passes
Savona, and
comes to
Gênoa.
- Hoveden,**
389. a. 49. Quartadecima die Augusti venit ad portum Delfini in vigilia Assumptionis beatæ et gloriosæ Dei genitricis Mariæ; et ibi moram fecit per quinque dies. Ibi vero misit ad eum rex Franciæ, rogans ut accommodaret ei quinque galeas: rex vero Angliæ obtulit ei tres, quas rex Franciæ refutavit. fo. 150 r.
August 14.
He stays
five days at
Portofino.
- Hoveden,**
389. a. 51. Nonodecimo vero die Augusti recessit rex a portu Delfini, et venit ad portum Veneris, et in crastino venit ad portum de Pysa. Et illuc venit ad eum Walterus Rotomagensis archiepiscopus; et Johannes Ebroicensis episcopus infirmabatur in civitate Pysana. August 19.
Porto
Veneri.
August 20.
Pisa.
- Hoveden,**
389. a. 54. Vicesima prima die mensis Augusti transivit rex per insulam quæ dicitur Gurgune. August 21.
Gorgona.
- Hoveden,**
389. a. 54.
Hoveden,
389. b. 1. Vicesima secunda die venit ad portum de Brant.³ August 22.
Baratto.
- Vicesima tertia die Augusti perrexit rex duas leugas per terram, et pauci milites super equos conductos, et venerunt ad portum juxta castellum quod [dicitur] Plumbin, obviam galeis. Et ibi intravit rex galeam Fulconis Rustancrī,⁴ quam prius non intraverat. Et vento gaudens optato, præteriit insulam⁵ quæ dicitur Argentaire, et insulam quæ dicitur Genut, et venit ad portum qui dicitur Tanemunt.⁶ August 22.
He lands,
and marches
to Piombino,
and thence
sails to
Talamone.
- Hoveden,**
389. b. 2. Vicesima quinta⁷ die Augusti venit ad portum qui dicitur Kerlehe,⁸ quæ est in media via inter Marsiliam et Messanam. Eodem die rumpebatur velum galeæ in qua rex erat; iterum ergo intravit rex galeam Pum- August 25.
He comes
to Porto
Ercole.

¹ *Seune*] Suvene, H.; Seone, J. Savona.

² *infirmabatur*] in ædibus juxta ecclesiam Sancti Laurentii. H. add.

³ *Brant*] Barate H.; Brandis, J.

⁴ *Rustancrī*] Rustac, H.

⁵ *insulam*] quæ dicitur Feraire, et insulam, H.

⁶ *Tanemunt*] Talemunde, H.

⁷ *Vicesima quinta*] Vicesima quarta, H.

⁸ *Kerlehe*] Portekere, H.

A.D. 1190.
August 25.
Corneto,
Civita Vec-
chia, and
Arnone.

At the
mouth of
the Tiber,
Octavian,
bishop of
Ostia, meets
him.

August 26.
He passes
the wood of
Laurentum.

August 27.
Capo Olir-
cello, Palma-
rola, Ponza,
Terracina,
Garigliano,

bone, et præteriit civitatem Cornet, et civitatem Senes la-vele, et civitatem Laune.¹ Et postea intravit Tyberim; ad cujus introitum est turris pulcherrima sed solitaria. Sunt et ibi ruinæ maximæ murorum antiquorum. Illuc venit ad regem Octavianus Ostiensis episcopus, cui rex turpia multa, improbrando Romanis simoniam, quod septingentas marcas debuerant habere pro consecratione episcopi Cenomannensis,² et mille et quingentas marcas pro legatione Eliensis episcopi, et pecuniam magnam ne deponeretur Burdegalensis,³ qui a clericis suis accusabatur de crimine.

Vicesima sexta die Augusti transivit rex per quodam nemus quod dicitur Selvedeme;⁴ in quo est via marmorea ad modum pavimenti facta; et durat per medium nemus quater viginti⁵ milliaria. Nemus vero illud abundat cervis, capreolis et damulis. Eodem die transivit per castellum quod dicitur Leicum.⁶ Hic est portus qui quondam tegebatur cupro, et erat ibi introitus cryptæ, per quam pecunia undique allata Romanam⁷ ferebatur.

Vicesima septima die Augusti transivit per rupem extensam in mare, quæ vocatur Le Cap de Cercel, et insulam Palmerole, et insulam Puncœ, et insulam Palmerere, in summitate montis.⁸ In summitate montis de Cap Cercel est castellum in quo latrones et piratæ se abscondunt. Deinde venit ad civitatem Daracene,⁹ ubi quondam erat portus cupro tectus; postea ad Garillam; inde ad castellum quod dicitur Cap de Lespurun. Hæc est divisio terræ Romanorum et terræ regis Siciliae, quæ dicitur terra principatus Capusæ. Deinde

¹ *Laune*] locum qui dicitur *Le far de Rume*, H.

² Hamelin, whose consecration is placed by the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* in 1191.

³ Helias de Malemort.

⁴ *Selvedeme*] *Selvedene*, H.

⁵ *quater viginti*] 24, H.

⁶ *Leicum*] *Letrum*, B.; *Leicum*, J.

⁷ *Romam*] et postea transivit rex per castellum quod dicitur *Esture*, H.; om. J.

⁸ *in . . montis*] om. H. J.

⁹ *Daracene*] *Tharracene*, H.; *Daracene*, J.

Hoveden,
390. b. 9.

Hoveden,
390. b. 10.

Hoveden,
390. b. 22.

- Hoveden, 390. b. 29. præteriit insulam La Pantantee.¹ Ia Patantee vero A.D. 1190. August 27. fuit terra Pilati, et ibi erat portus cupro tectus. De- Vandotena, Iuchia.
inde præteriit rex insulam quæ dicitur Iscele majur,² quæ semper fumat. Hæc insula dicitur accensa fuisse ab insula quæ dicitur Bulcan, igne volante et comburente, ut dicitur, mare et pisces.³ Deinde præteriit insulam quæ dicitur Baterun, et portum de Baie ubi Baie.
sunt balnea Virgilii.⁴
- Hoveden, 390. b. 37. Vicesima octava die Augusti venit rex Neapolim, et August 28. He comes to Naples, and stays fo. 150 v. there until Sept. 8.
perrexit ad abbatiam Sancti Januarii ad videndum filios Neimundi, qui stant ibi in crypta, in pellibus et ossibus. Et ibidem moram fecit usque ad Nativitatem Sanctæ Mariæ Virginis et matris Domini. Et eodem Sept. 8. He marches to Salerno.
die perrexit Salernum equis conductis, et ibi fecit moram magnam.
- Hoveden, 390. b. 41. Interim Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Archbishop Baldwin arrives in Palestine.
Hubertus Salesbiriensis episcopus, et Ranulfus de Glanvilla, qui venerunt cum rege Angliæ ad Marsiliam, ibidem naves intraverunt; et fecit illis Dominus prosperum iter, ita quod in brevi perduxit eos Dominus ad obsidionem Acræ per mare magnum sine ullo impedimento.⁵
- Hoveden, 390. b. 44. Johannes vero Norwicensis episcopus papam adiit; The bishop of Norwich lays aside the crown.
et accepta ab eo licentia redeundi, dimisit crucem, et domum rediit absolutus. Quod cum domino regi constaret, cepit de illo per manus Templariorum mille marcas de redemptione.
- Hoveden, 390. b. 47. Navigium autem regis cui archiepiscopus Auxiensis, The fleet under the archbishop of Auch.
et episcopus Baionensis,⁶ et Robertus de Sablul,⁷ et

¹ *La Pantantee*] le Pantee, quæ distat a Gaeta civitate per quadraginta milliaria, H.; om. J.

² *Isccele majur*] Istellemanie, H.; Histelemair, J.

³ *pisces*] ab hac non multum distat insula quæ dicitur Ile de Girun, ubi est castellum bonum et portus, H.; om. J.

⁴ *Virgilii*] et distat per decem milliaria a Neapoli; deinde præ-

teriit rex Capue, et cap de Manerbe, quæ est media via inter Neapolim et Salernum, H.; om. J.

⁵ Baldwin and his part of the expedition arrived at Tyre on the 16th of September, and at Acre on the 12th of October. *Epp. Cantuar.*, pp. 328, 329.

⁶ *Baionensis*] Bajocensis, H. and J.

⁷ *Sablul*] Sabloil, H.; Sablol, J.; Sablus, B.

A.D. 1190.
March.
Ten ships
sail from
Dartmouth
towards Lis-
bon, imme-
diately after
Easter,
March 28.

In the bay
of Biscay,
May 6,
storm.

Ricardus de Chamvil, et Willelmus Fortis de Uelerun Hoveden,
389. b. 48.
præfuerunt, iter arripuit Jerosolimitanum statim post
Pascha, de diversis regionibus Angliæ et Normanniæ,
Britanniæ et Pictaviæ. Cujus navigii pars quædam
convenit in portu de Derstemua, et post moram ali-
quot dierum ibidem factam, cum prædictæ naves,
numero decem, velificarent versus Ulyxisbonam, et
præterissent quandam terram protensam in mari quæ
dicitur Godestret; et præterissent Britanniam habentes
Sanctum Mathæum de Finibus Terræ, in sinistra
navigii parte, et Mare magnum quo itur in Hiberniam,
in dextris, dimiserunt totam Pictaviam et Gasconiam
in sinistra. Cum jam præterissent mare Britannicum,¹
et venissent in mare Hispanicum die Ascensionis Do-
mini, arripuit illas tempestas valida et horribilis, et
ab invicem in momento sunt separatæ.

*Gloriosum miraculum Sancti Thomæ, martyris
Cantuariensis.*

Hoveden,
381. a. 5.

S. Thomas
of Canter-
bury ap-
pears to the
crusaders in
the same
ship with
William
Fitz-Osbert.

Dum vero tempestas sæviret, et omnes clamarent ad
Dominum cum tribularentur, beatus Thomas Cantuari-
ensis, martyr gloriosus, per tres vices visibiliter appa-
ruit tribus personis qui erant in navi Londoniensi, in
qua erant Willelmus filius Osberti, et Gaufridus Auri-
faber cives Londoniæ; dicens illis, "Nolite terreri,
" ego enim, et beatus Edmundus martyr, et beatus
" Nicholaus confessor, constituti sumus a Domino cus-
" todes hujus navigii regis Angliæ. Et si homines
" hujus navigii se a pravis operibus custodierint, et
" de præteritis poenitentiam egerint, Dominus dabit Pa. xxvii. 11.
" illis prosperum iter, et in semitis Suis gressus eorum
" diriget." His itaque sub trina repetitione dictis,
beatus Thomas evanuit ab oculis eorum; et statim
cessavit tempestas, et facta est in mari tranquillitas S. Mark, iv.
39.
magna.

¹ *Britannicum*] et mare Pictavicum, add. H.

Hoveden,
381. a. 14.

Et jam navis illa Lundoniensis, in qua supradicta apparitio contigit, præterierat portum Ulixisbonæ et Caput Sancti Vincentii, et pervenerat prope civitatem Silvise, quæ tunc temporis fuit ultima omnium villarum Christianitatis in Hispania super Mare Magnum, et erat adhuc Christiana ibi fides novella; utpote quæ in anno proximo præterito¹ erepta erat de manibus paganorum et facta Christicola. Cumque prope illam civitatem esset navis illa procellis agitata, illi qui intus erant ignorantes ubi essent, miserunt foras naviculam suam, et navigantes ad terram cognoverunt per indicia quod terra illa erat terra Christianorum, et quod ulterius non erat terra nec habitatio Christianæ religionis. Et quia non erat eis via tuta ulterius, sine bono et magno comitatu, accesserunt ad civitatem, et cognita adventus illorum causa, episcopus civitatis Silvise, et clerus et populus receperunt eos gratanter, gratias Deo agentes pro adventu illorum. Erant autem in illa navi plusquam quater viginti juvenes bene armati.

A.D. 1180.
May 6.
The ship
arrives at
Silvia, and is
hospitably
received.

fo. 151 r.

De Baioc² Imperatore de Hispania Saracenica.

Hoveden,
381. a. 26.

Interim Baioc Al Miramimoli, imperator de Maroc et de Hyspania Saracenica, magno congregato exercitu, venit in Terram Sancii³ regis Portingalensis, in vinctam imperatoris de Marroc patris sui, anno sexto proximo præterito defuncti in obsidione apud Sanctam Herenam, castellum Adelfonsi regis,⁴ patris prædicti Sancii regis Portingalensis. Cives autem Silvise, timen-

The emperor of Morocco invades Portugal.

¹ 1189. See Diceto, 646; and p. 90, above, note ¹.

² Baioc] Abou-Yousouf Yacoub Al-Mansour Bifadl-Allah, emperor of Morocco 1184-1199. His father Yousouf died on an expedition to Portugal, in which he unsuccessful-

fully besieged Santarem, (the Sancta Herena of the text,) June 18, 1184. *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, iii. series, vol. iii. pp. 36, 37.

³ Sancho I., 1185-1211.

⁴ Alfonso I., 1112-1185.

A.D. 1198. The Londoners are persuaded to stay and assist the king of Portugal. tes adventum imperatoris de Marroc, non permiserunt Hoveden, 381. a. 28. juvenes illos Lundonienses ab eis recedere, sed et navem illorum fregerunt et de asseribus illius fecerunt civitatis propugnacula, promittentes et omnimodam securitatem facientes, quod rex Portigalensis bene solveret illis moram quam fecerant, et damnum quod habebant de amissione navis suæ. Et ita factum est; rex namque Portigalensis navem pro nave dedit, et expensas pro expensis solvit.

Other English ships arrive at Lisbon. Præterea novem aliæ naves quæ in eadem tempestate erant applicuerunt in diversis partibus Hispaniæ, tamen duce Domino, pervenerunt ad civitatem Ulixisbonæ, ascendentes per fluvium qui dicitur Tauglus. In eadem civitate requiescit corpus Sancti Vincentii martyria. Hoveden, 381. a. 28.

June 24. The emperor of Morocco besieges Torres Nuevas. Et antequam illuc venissent, imperator de Marroc, Hoveden, 381. a. 28. die Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, transivit fluvium Tagi per vadum, et omnis exercitus ejus cum eo, et obsedit castellum Sancii regis Portingalensis quod dicitur Turres Novæ. Rex vero Portingalensis misit nuncios suos ad peregrinos, qui in navibus venerant ad civitatem Ulixisbonæ, et petiit ab eis auxilium, dicens quod nisi eum auxiliarentur, ipse totam terram suam amitteret. Viri siquidem illi, scientes quod mori pro Christo lucrum esset illis, naves suas reliquerunt, et numero quingenti viri bene armati, et de omnibus qui in navibus venerant præelecti, fortiores et animosiores, perrexerunt usque ad Sanctam Erenam, quæ distat a civitate Ulixisbonæ per duas dietas: et invenerunt Sancium regem Portingalensem, auxilio et consilio destitutum; paucos enim viros bellicosos habebat, et fere omnes inermes.

The emperor of Morocco takes Torres Nuevas and besieges Thumar. Et jam imperator de Marroc ceperat castellum suum Hoveden, 381. a. 28. quod obsederat; et aliud castellum ejus quod dicitur Thumar, castellum Templariorum, obsedit. Qui cum audisset adventum peregrinorum timuit valde, et missis legatis suis ad regem Portingalensem, petiit ab eo

Hoveden,
381. a. 33.

Silviam civitatem, et ipse recederet, et redderet ei castellum quod ceperat, et pacem haberet cum illo septem annis. Quod cum rex Portingalensis facere nollet, prædictus imperator mandavit ei quod in crastino veniret obsessurus Sanctam Erenam.

A.D. 1190.
He offers
terms of
peace, which
Sancho
refuses.

Hoveden,
381. b. 1.

Tunc rex Portingalensis, inito consilio cum peregrinis, constituit homines suos in turribus et in fortioribus propugnaculis murorum. Peregrini autem de Anglia qui de navibus suis venerant, debiliores partes civitatis sibi elegerunt, audaciam habentes pro muro.

Sancho pre-
pares to
defend
Santarem.

Hoveden,
381. b. 4.

In crastino autem, cum omnes essent succincti ad bellum, et clamor esset in foribus, "Jam jam veniet, et non tardabit;" repente venit nuncius qui dixit, "Imperator de Maroc mortuus est jam triduanus, et exercitus ejus fugit." Et adhuc illo loquente venerunt duo, deinde tres, deinde plures, eundem sermonem dicentes. Credidit ergo illis rex et universus populus, et civitas replebatur gaudio et exultatione. In crastino autem dedit rex viris de navibus licentiam redeundi ad naves suas, et promisit illis quod bene recompensaret eis labores suos.

Report of
the death
fo. 151 v.
of the em-
peror of
Morocco.

The crus-
aders return
to their
ships.

Hoveden,
381. b. 11.

Sed antequam illi ad naves suas venissent, Robertus de Sablul, et Ricardus de Chamvil venerunt ad Ulixisbonam cum sexaginta tribus magnis navibus de storio regis Angliæ: storium idem est quod navigium. Quidam autem hominum qui in comitatu eorum venerant malefactores et perversi erant. Qui etiam exeuntes de navibus suis in civitatem Ulixisbonæ ascenderunt, et per vias et vicos incedentes superbe locuti sunt cum populo civitatis, et cum mulieribus et filiabus civium per vim coinquinati sunt, et Judæos et paganos, qui erant ibi servi regis, a civitate fugaverunt, et diripientes bona eorum domos eorum combusserunt; et vindemias vindemiaverunt, non relinquentes in eis uvam vel racemum.

Arrival of
the main
body of the
fleet at
Lisbon.

Bad beha-
viour of
some of the
pilgrims.

Hoveden,
381. b. 20.

Quod cum regi Portingalensi nunciatum esset, velocius advenit, et invento ibi Roberto de Sablul et

Sancho
comes to
Lisbon.

A.D. 1194. Ricardo de Camvilla cum navigio regis Anglie, faciem hilarem et pacem spondentem eis exhibuit, patienter sustinens injurias plebi sue illatas. Hoveden, 222. b. 22.

July.
No tidings
his time.

The cap-
tains of the
fleet make
the pilgrims
swear to
keep King
Richard's
law.

The king
surprises
700 mal-
factors.

Agreement
between
king Sancho
and the
captains.

July 24.
The fleet
assembles at
the mouth
of the
Tagus.

July 26.
fo. 125 v.
The fleet
sails past
Cape Espi-
chel.

In crastino vero Robertus et Ricardus de Camvil receperunt ab omnibus hominibus navigii sacramentum de supradictis capitulis et assisis regis servandis. Post triduum vero iterum orta est dissensio inter cives Ulixisbonæ et quosdam illorum qui in navibus vene- rant, ita quod ex utraque [parte] multi ceciderunt in bello interfecti. Et clamor populi venit ad aures regis, qui statim portas civitatis claudere fecit, et omnes qui in civitatem venerant de navibus ad edendum et bibendum, cepit et incarceravit; et erant numero viri septingenti.

Et antequam exire possent, fecit rex cum Roberto et Ricardo pacem qualem voluit, in hac forma; scilicet quod mala præterita ex utraque parte remitterentur, et quod ipsi pacem firmam servarent illi et terræ suæ quamdiu in terra sua fuissent; et ipse similiter illis; et quod arma et cætera quæ hinc inde in bello illo amissa fuerant redderentur. Quod cum factum esset, Robertus et Ricardus recesserunt a civitate cum navi- gio regis Angliæ, in vigilia Sancti Jacobi apostoli, et eodem die venerunt ad introitum maris, ubi Tagus cadit in mare. Et eodem die venit illuc Willelmus de Forz cum triginta tribus magnis navibus. Et erant omnes pariter in eodem loco naves navigii numero centum et sex magnæ naves quæ tunc aderant onustæ viris bellicosus et victualibus et armis.

In crastino festi Sancti Jacobi, feria quinta, prædicti Robertus et Ricardus de Camvil, et Willelmus de Forz recesserunt a porta Ulixisbonæ cum navigio regis An- glie, transcentes per montem magnum protensum in mare qui dicitur Spichel.¹ Deinde venerunt ad portum

Hoveden,
222. b. 22.

¹ " et per portum Dalchath, et | " mari, et per portum de Orduaire,
" p. r. Palmel, et per Sinnes, terram | " et per montem magnum et excol-
" quondam arcuosam protensam in | " sum protensum in mare, qui dici-

Silviæ, quæ tunc temporis fuit ultima civitas Christianitatis. A.D. 1190.
July.

Miraculum de quadam imagine Beatæ Mariæ in Hispania.

Hoveden,
331. b. 42.

Deinde transierunt ante civitatem paganorum quæ dicitur Sancta Maria de Farun.¹ Et notandum est quare civitas sic nominatur. Farun dicitur locus ubi civitas sita est; et Christiani qui eam ædificaverunt sic nominaverunt eam; et in nomine Dei genitricis Mariæ yconiam quandam² supra murum statuerunt. Deinde cum pagani prævaluissent adversus Christianos, obtinuerunt eandem civitatem. Et cum prædictam yconiam supra murum stantem invenissent, amputaverunt caput et brachia et pedes illi in contemptum fidei Christianæ et beatæ Mariæ; et projecerunt illam longius in mare. Quo facto mare et tellus facta sunt sterilia, et fames prævaluit super terram illam, adeo quod fere omnes homines illius provinciæ fame interirent. Tunc seniores populi et juvenes omnes a maximo usque ad minimum die ac nocte plorantes, et in sacco et cinere poenitentiam agentes, recordati sunt yconiae cujus caput et manus et pedes absciderant; dicentes, "Peccavimus, inique egimus, iniquitatem fecimus, quando caput et manus et pedes yconiae amputavimus. Quæramus ergo illa, et apponamus ea locis suis, ut sic saltem avertat Deus iram Suam a nobis et a civitate ista." Et miscrunt sagenas in mare ubi projecerant caput et manus et pedes, et trahentes ea ad terram, apposuerunt caput collo, et manus brachiis et pedes tibiis; et solidaverunt ea auro et argento primo et purissimo; et deinde

Miraculous
story of an
image of the
Blessed
Virgin.

"tur caput Sancti Vincentii, in quo corpus Sancti Vincentii re-
quievit intumescens per multa
tempora usque dum translatus
fuit ad civitatem Ulyxisbonæ.

"Deinde transierunt ante portum
"Silviæ,"—ins. Hoveden; om. J.

¹ Farus] Hayrun, H.

² quandam] lapideam, ins. H.

A.D. 1100.
Miraculous
story.

statuerunt illam yconiam in loco honorabili; et in magna veneratione habetur usque in hodiernum diem. Et statim cessavit fames, et terra dedit fructum suum.

Hoveden,
382. a. 14.

The fleet
sails round
Spain, and
arrives at
the mouth
of the
Rhône.

Deinde transierunt prædictæ naves ante castellum quod dicitur Mertel.¹ Deinde per alias civitates multas et magnas et per montes magnos in mare protensos.² Tandem venerunt ad quandam insulam quæ dicitur Odur, et est ad introitum Rodani. Et in ascendendo per fluvium Rodani stat civitas bona archiepiscopalis quæ dicitur Arles le blanch; et in ascendendo superius per eundem fluvium est bona civitas quæ Sanctus Ægidius nominatur. Deinde est Marsilia. Et est sciendum quod multæ insulæ Saracenæ sunt inter districtas Affricæ et Marsiliam, quarum una dicitur Majorek, altera dicitur Euviz, et utraque illarum est tributaria sub rege Arragoniæ. Insula vero de Majok reddit regi Arrogoniæ trecentos pannos sericos de tributo per annum; insula vero de Euviz reddit eidem regi per annum ducentos pannos sericos de tributo.

Hoveden,
382. a. 15,
382. b. 26.

Relics at
Marseilles.

Apud Marsiliam inter cæteras sanctorum reliquias, sunt reliquiæ Sancti Lazari, fratris Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ et Sanctæ Marthæ; qui in eodem loco septem annis episcopatum tenuit, postquam eum Dominus resuscitavit a mortuis.³

Hoveden,
382. b. 32.

Divisions of
kingdoms
of Navarre
and Spain

Sciendum est etiam quod tota terra quæ est ab Anglia usque ad Hispaniam secus mare, est terra regis Angliæ; et protenditur usque ad portum qui dicitur Huuarce, qui dividit terram regis Angliæ a terra regis Navarræ. Et terra regis Navarræ incipit a portu illo, qui dicitur Huarce, et durat usque ad aquam quæ

Hoveden,
383. a. 1.

fo. 152 vº.

¹ Mertel] Merell, H.

² Hoveden gives here a list of the places on the coast which were passed by the fleet in very long detail, which proves that he must have had before him, in extenso, the document from which the text

is abridged. The only important date is that August 1 the fleet passed the straits of Gibraltar.

³ Here Hoveden has an account of Marseilles, and of the voyage thence to Acre.

Hoveden,
383. a. 7.

dicitur Castre, [quæ dividit terram regis Navarræ a terra regis Castellæ. Et terra regis Castellæ incipit ab aqua de Castre,] et durat usque ad montes de Sor, qui dividit terram regis Castellæ a terra regis de Sancto Jacobo. Terra vero regis de Sancto Jacobo incipit a montibus de Sor, et durat usque ad aquam de Mine, quæ dividit terram regis de Sancto Jacobo a terra regis Portingalensis. Et terra regis Portingalensis incipit ab aqua quæ dicitur Mine, et durat usque ad mediam viam inter Silvis, et Sanctam Mariam de Hayrun. Ibi vero incipit terra paganorum qui sunt in Hispania sub imperatore de Morock; et durat usque ad montem magnum qui dicitur Muscian.¹ A monte vero illo, incipit terra regis Arragoniæ, et durat ultra civitatem de Nice. Et post illam civitatem de Nice, incipit Italia, terra imperatoris Romæ; et est ibi civitas bona quæ dicitur Wintelmile. Terra vero imperatoris durat inde usque ad Gaetam, quæ est terra regis Siciliæ, et est in Apulia, in illa parte Apuliæ quæ dicitur principatus Capuæ.

A.D. 1190.
Boundaries
of Castile
and Leon,

of Leon
and Por-
tugal;

Portugal
and the
Moorish
territory;

Arragon;
the empire,
the king-
dom of
Apulia.

Hoveden,
383. a. 23.

Hoveden,
383. a. 27.

Sciendum vero est quod in media via inter Marsiliam et Siciliam sunt duæ insulæ magnæ, quarum major insula dicitur Sardinia; altera dicitur Corzege. Et multæ aliæ insulæ sunt circa Siciliam; quarum quædam sunt ardentes.² Una vero earum, major omnibus aliis montibus illis dicitur Mon Gibel, quia ita vehementer ardere solebat, quod marinam partem maris in circuitu ejus desiccabat, et pisces comburebat; sed jam plusquam quadraginta anni præterierunt, ex quo ignis ille extinctus est, meritis et precibus beatæ Agatæ virginis et martyris.

Islands
between
Marselles
and Sicily.

¹ Hoveden has here a short notice of the four Saracen kingdoms of Spain, Cordova, Gant (Jaen), Murcia, and Valencia.

² Hoveden here has an account of flying fish seen off Corsica and Sardinia: "Et qui hoc vidit testi-

" monium perhibuit, et verum est
" testimonium ejus, quia cum ipse
" in mensa vidisset in alta navi,
" quidam ex piscibus illis volanti-
" bus cecidit ante illum super men-
" sam."

A.D. 1169.

*Miraculum Sanctæ Agatæ virginis.*Miracle at
Catania.

Quadam autem die, cum ignis vehementius solito arderet, et exiret a fornace Montis Gebel, et appropinquasset civitati Catinensium, ubi corpus sanctissimum beatæ Agatæ virginis requiescit; paganorum multitudo, fugiens ad sepulcrum ejus, tulerunt velum ejus contra incendium; et ignis reversus est in mare, et comburens desiccavit mare fere per unum milliare, et pisces combussit, de quibus multi evaserunt. Et ex genere eorum ibi sunt usque in diem hanc semiusti, et dicuntur pisces Sanctæ Agatæ, ad laudem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Qui est semper mirabilis et gloriosus in sanctis Suis.

Hoveden,
283. a. 36.The cru-
sading fleet
arrives at
Marsailles,
August 23.

Igitur Robertus de Sabul et Ricardus de Camvil et Willelmus de Forz, transeuntes cum navigio regis Angliæ inter Affricam et Hispaniam, post tempestates plurimas quas in itinere illo pertulerunt, pervenerunt ad Marsiliam in octavis Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, feria quarta, cum toto navigio illis commisso. Et non invento ibi rege domino suo, per dies octo fecerunt ibi moram, propter quosdam necessarios navium apparatus.

Hoveden,
283. a. 47.They arrive
at Messina,
Sept. 14.

Deinde secuti sunt eum; et in Exaltatione sanctæ Crucis venerunt ad civitatem Messanam, feria sexta, et in die Dominica sequenti [venit] illuc Philippus rex Franciæ, xvi^o. kalendas Octobria. Custodes vero civitatis honorifice susceperunt eum, et tradiderunt ei palatium Tancredi regis Siciliæ ad hospitandum ibi.

Hoveden,
283. a. 53.The king
of France
arrives,
Sept. 16.The king of
England
leaves
Salerno,
Sept. 18.

Cum vero rex Angliæ audisset quod navigium suum Messanam venisset, tertio decimo die Septembris a Salerno recessit, et transiens ante civitatem archiepiscopalem quæ dicitur Melphe,¹ deinde venit ad civitatem et castellum quæ dicuntur Escale. Juxta hoc

Hoveden,
283. b. 1.

¹ *Melphe*] et ante civitatem ar- | decimo octavo die Septembris venit
chiepiscopalem quæ Conze dicitur, | ad civitatem, etc., H. ; om. J.

Hoveden,
363. b. 6

castellum est insula parva, ubi dicuntur fuisse scholæ Lucani; et adhuc est ibi camera pulchra sub terra in qua Lucanus studere consueverat.

A.D. 1190.
September.
fo. 168 r.

Hoveden,
363. b. 7.

Nocte sequenti jacuit in villa quæ dicitur Lacetar in prioratu Montis Cassiæ. Inde¹ venit ad Melide, ubi honorifice susceptus est et procuratus in abbazia quæ dicitur Sancta Trinitas de Melide. Ibi est turris lignea juxta abbatiam quam Robertus Wiskard expugnavit, et castellum obtinuit in villa de Melide.

He goes to
Mileto.
Sept. 21.

Hoveden,
363. b. 15.

Rex² vero inde recedens cum uno solo milite transivit per quandam villam parvam; et cum transisset vertit se ad domum quandam in qua audivit accipitrem; et intrans domum cepit illum; quem cum dimittere nollet, rustici multi accurrentes impetum fecerunt in eum cum fustibus et lapidibus. Et cum unus illorum cultellum suum in regem extraxisset, rex eum cum lato gladii sui verberans gladium suum fregit; alios lapidibus obruit, et sic vix evadens a manibus eorum, venit Alabagnare,³ et ibi invenit familiam suam.⁴ Sed nullam ibi moram faciens, transivit fluvium magnum qui dicitur Le Far de Meschines, et juxta turrem lapideam in tentorio jacuit.⁵

Sept. 22.
Travelling
with a
single at-
tendant, he
is attacked
by rustics.

Escapes, and
arrives at
the Faro
of Messina.

Hoveden,
363. b. 27.

Vicesima tertia die Septembris venit ad civitatem Messanam in Sicilia cum buccis suis multis et aliis magnis navibus, et galeis, in tanta gloria et sonitu tubarum et buccinarum quod tremor apprehendit omnes

Sept. 23.
He arrives
at Messina.

¹ *Inde*] Nono decimo die Septembris transiens rex per prioratum qui dicitur Sanctus Michael de Josaphat, venit ad alium prioratum ejusdem ordinis qui dicitur Sancta Maria de Fosses, et ibi est castellum quod dicitur Sanctæ Laches. Vicesima die Septembris transiens rex per castellum quod dicitur Lamante, venit ad villam quæ dicitur Sancta Eufemia. Vicesima prima die Septembris venit rex ad Melide,—H.; om. J.

² *Rex*] Vicesima secunda die Septembris, H.

³ *Alabagnare*] ad prioratum qui dicitur Labainarie, H.

⁴ *et ibi invenit familiam suam*] om. H.

⁵ *jacuit*] fluvius autem ille del Far dividit Calabriam et Siciliam, H.; who goes on to mention Scylla and Charybdis.

A.D. 1199.
Sept. 23.
*Splendour
of his
landing.*

qui in civitate erant. Rex vero Franciæ et sui, et *Hoveden,
388. b. 22.*
omnes principes civitatis Messanæ et clerus et populus
stabant in littore, admirantes super iis quæ viderant
et audierant de rege Angliæ et de potestate ejus. Qui
cum applicuisset, prosiliens in terram locutus est cum
Philippo rege Franciæ. Et post colloquium eodem die

*King Philip
leaves Mes-
sina, but is
obliged to
return.*

rex Franciæ transfretare desiderans cum navigio suo
exivit a portu, sed statim illo die, vento sibi contrario,
dolens et invitus ad eundem portum reversus est.

*Richard is
well re-
ceived by
the nobles.*

Interim rex Angliæ, cum desiderio et gaudio maximo *Hoveden,
388. b. 22.*
a baronibus et militibus terræ suæ receptus, intravit
in domum Reginaldi de Muschet,¹ ubi hospitium suum
præparabatur in suburbio extra muros civitatis Mes-
sanæ inter vineas.

*Sept. 24 and
25: inter-
views of the
two kings.*

Vicesima quarta die Septembris et vicesima quinta *Hoveden,
388. b. 27,
shorter.*
venit rex Angliæ ad hospitium regis Franciæ loqui
cum eo. Et eodem die venit rex Franciæ ad hospitium
regis Angliæ ad loquendum cum illo; et videbatur
quod tantus esset inter illos mutus dilectionis affectus,
quod nunquam dissolvi posset aut violari amor eorum.

*Sept. 29.
Arrival of
queen
Johanna
from Pa-
lermo.*

Vicesima octava die exivit rex Angliæ obviam *Hoveden,
388. b. 28,
longer.*
Johannæ sorori suæ, quondam reginæ Siciliæ, quæ
eadem die venit de Panormo per galeas; et duxit
eam ad hospitale Sancti Johannis, ubi hospitium ejus
præparabatur.

*Sept. 29.
Meeting of
Philip and
Johanna.*

Vicesima nona die Septembris, die scilicet Sancti *Hoveden,
388. b. 28,
shorter.*
Michaelis, venit rex Franciæ ad hospitium regis Angliæ,
et locutus est cum eo. Et postea perrexerunt ambo ad
hospitium sororis regis Angliæ videre illam. Et rex
Franciæ adeo faciem hilarem exhibebat, quod populus
dicebat quod rex Franciæ duceret eam in uxorem.

¹ *Muschet*] *Muhec*, H. Moyac,
Hoveden, 388. a. 9. *Muhec* is
doubtless the right reading. *Regi-*
nald was probably one of the same
family as *Walter de Moac*, who is
mentioned in 1171 as constable of

the household of *William II.* of
Sicily, and in 1177 as admiral of
the fleet. See above, vol. i. p. 171,
and *Cartulary of the Holy Sepul-*
chre, p. 296.

Hoveden,
388. b. 44.

Tricesima die rex Angliæ transivit fluvium de Far, et cepit locum munitissimum qui dictur La Baignare, ubi canonici regulares Deo serviunt jugiter. In crastino vero Sancti Michaelis introduxit sororem suam in locum illum munitissimum, et dimittens eam ibi cum militibus et servientibus multis, rediit rex Messanam ad hospitium.

A.D. 1190.
Sept. 28.
Richard occupies La Baignare, and settles his sister there.

Hoveden,
388. b. 47.

Secunda die Octobris cepit rex Angliæ castellum munitissimum quod est in medio fluminis del Far, inter Calabriam et Messanam, quod dicitur monasterium Griffonum: et posuit in illo frumentum et vinum et carnes et alia victualia sua quæ de Anglia et aliis terris suis et aliunde per mare venerunt. Cum autem cives Messanæ vidissent quod rex Angliæ in castello de La Baignare cum sorore sua servientes posuisset, et quod ipse in monasterio Griffonum cum victualibus suis milites et servientes posuisset, habuerunt eum suspectum, conjicientes quod totam occuparet insulam si posset; et inde de facili commoveri poterant contra eum.

fo. 183 v.
Oct. 2.
He occupies a monastery with his stores.

The people of Messina take alarm.

De discordia inter cives Messanæ et regem Angliæ.

Hoveden,
388. b. 48.

Unde contigit quod tertia die Octobris discordia emer-
sit inter exercitum regis Angliæ et cives Messanæ; et in tantum excrevit ex utraque parte indignatio, quod cives clausurunt portas civitatis, et armati ascenderunt muros; et alii domos civitatis fortissimas, alii munitiones supra portas intraverunt. Cumque exercitus regis hæc audisset et vidisset, venerunt cum impetu magno ad portas civitatis. Rex vero in equo velocissimo cursabat per exercitum, baculo verberans quoscunque ex suis attingebat; volens illos ab insultu cohibere, sed nequivit. Tandem rediit ad hospitium suum; et cum se armasset iterum exivit ad extinguendam malitiam si posset. Postea intravit cymbam unam, et ivit ad palatium regis Tancredi ad loquendum cum rege Franciæ, et consulere eum super iis quæ contigerant.

Oct. 3.
Quarrel between the people and the English.

Richard tries to stop it, but in vain, and goes to consult Philip

A.D. 1190.
Oct. 2.
Peace.

Oct. 4.
Meeting of
nobles at
Richard's
lodgings.

Interim per consilium seniorum civitatis discordia illa quievit; et depositis ex utraque parte armis, reversus est unusquisque in domum suam. Mane autem facto, scilicet quarta die Octobris, venerunt ad hospitium regis Angliæ, Ricardus¹ archiepiscopus Messanæ, et Willelmus archiepiscopus de Monte Regali,² et Willelmus archiepiscopus de Risa,³ et Margaritus admiralis, et multi alii de familiaribus regis Siciliæ. Et adduxerunt secum Philippum regem Franciæ, et Reginaldum Carnotensem episcopum, et Manasser episcopum de Legria, et Hugonem ducem Burgundiæ, et Petrum comitem de Nevers,⁴ et Gaufridum comitem de Pertico,⁵ et comitem de Luvein, et alios multos de familiaribus regis Franciæ, et Walterum Rotomagensem archiepiscopum, Girardum Auciensem archiepiscopum, et archiepiscopum de Appamia, et Johannem Ebroicensem episcopum, et multos alios de familia regis Angliæ, in quibus fiduciam habebant ad faciendam pacem inter ipsos et regem Angliæ.

The citizens
prepare
to attack
Richard,
who summons his
people to
arm.

Cum ergo ipsi de pace facienda inter regem Angliæ et cives Messanæ diu tractassent, et eam pene reformassent, processerunt cives in magna multitudine, congregati super montes, et exspectaverunt: quidam prompti et parati proditiose in regem Angliæ irruere: quidam vero eorum insultum fecerunt in hospitium Hugonis le Brun.⁶ Et clamor eorum non modicus venit ad aures regis Angliæ. Qui statim relicto consilio regis Franciæ et prædictorum, præcepit omnes suos armari; et ipse

Hoveden,
384. a. 2.

Hoveden,
384. a. 17.

¹ Richard Palmer (?), an Englishman, bishop of Syracuse, and afterwards second archbishop of Messina, 1183-1195.

² William, archbishop of Montreal, 1183-1190; the person proposed by Richard I. for the see of Canterbury.

³ William, archbishop of Reggio, d. 1197.

⁴ Peter of Courtenay, son of Peter the brother of Lewis VII., afterwards Latin emperor of Constantinople.

⁵ Geoffrey, who succeeded his father Rotrou III. the next year.

⁶ Of Lusignan, count of La Marche.

Hoveden,
284. a. 28.

cum paucis ascendit montem magnum et arduum quod nemo putaret ullo modo posse contingere. Cum igitur ad summitatem montis pervenisset cum magno labore, quotquot in monte fuerant cum fuga celerrima intraverunt. Milites autem et servientes ad portas civitatis et ad muros fortiter congressi sunt, et multos duros lapidum ictus sustinentes, aliquando portas intraverunt, aliquando vi exierunt. Et occisi sunt de familia regis quinque milites et viginti servientes, vidente rege Franciæ et nullum auxilium illis faciente, immo nocente in quantum potuit, quamvis confratres essent ipsius in illa peregrinatione. Rex vero Franciæ et sui civitatem intraverunt, et per medium illorum ibant tutissime ac si domi essent. Tandem vero post maximos labores, in tantam virtutem excreverunt homines regis Angliæ, quod per vim fregerunt portas civitatis, et murum undique ascenderunt, et ita ingredienti civitatem obtinuerunt, et statim signa regis Angliæ in munitionibus collocaverunt.¹

A.D. 1194.
October 3.
Struggle between the
fo. 154 r.
English
soldiers and
the citizens.

The dishonourable
conduct of
the French.

Richard's
men force
their way
into the
city, and
plant the
royal standard on the
walls.

Hoveden,
284. a. 28.

Octavo die Octobris, rex Franciæ [et rex Angliæ] coram comitibus et baronibus suis et clero et populo, juraverunt quod alter alterum in exercitu ejus in peregrinatione illa in eundo et redeundo bona fide custodirent. Comites vero et barones hoc idem juraverunt se firmiter et inconcusse servaturos.

October 8.
The kings
renew their
agreement
as to the
pilgrimage.

Hoveden,
284. a. 28.

Deinde prædicti reges, per voluntatem et consilium archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, comitum et baronum totius exercitus peregrinorum, statuerunt, "quod omnes "peregrini qui in via hujus peregrinationis morerentur, "de omnibus armaturis suis, et equitaturis suis et vestibus quibus usuri erant, pro voluntate sua disponderent, et "de medietate possessionum suarum quas secum habent "in via, pro arbitrio suo similiter facient, dummodo nihil

Regulations
for the
crusaders.

They are to
have power
to dispose
by will of
their arms
and half
their goods.

¹ Here Hoveden gives an account of the dissatisfaction of Philip at this arrangement, and of Richard's

entrusting the city to the Templars and Hospitallers.

A.D. 1190. October 8.	" in patriam suam remittant. Et clerici de capellis et omnibus utensilibus ad capellas pertinentibus, et de omnibus libris, pro voto suo ordinabunt. Altera pars ¹ in manu Walteri Rotomagensis archiepiscopi, et Manasser Lingonensis episcopi, et magistri militiæ domus Templi et magistri Hospitalis, et Hugonis ducis Burgundiæ et aliorum plurimorum ² tradetur, qui ad subvectionem terræ Jerosolimitanæ, ubi viderint magis necessarium, pecuniam prædictam impenderent.	Hoveden, 284. a. 22.
The other half to be expended on the crusade.	" Hæc autem reges in propriis personis affidaverunt firmiter et fideliter servandum, in omni via tam citra mare quam ultra, de omnibus peregrinis utriusque regni, tam de illis qui venturi sunt quam de illis qui venturi erant. ³	Hoveden, 284. b. 4.
Royal confirmation.	" Archiepiscopi et episcopi id idem in verbo veritatis servandum promiserunt; magistri Templi et Hospitalis super ordinem suum: comites et barones in propriis personis id idem servandum juraverunt.	Hoveden, 284. b. 6.
Confirmation by the clergy.	" Præterea nemo in toto exercitu ludat ad aliquod genus ludi pro lucro, exceptis militibus et clericis; qui in tota die et nocte non nisi viginti solidos amittent. Si autem milites aut clerici plusquam ad viginti solidos in die ⁴ luserint, quoties viginti solidos excesserint, centum solidos prædictis archiepiscopis et eorum prænominatis sociis qui prædictam pecuniam servabunt, dabunt prædictam pecuniam. ⁵ Reges autem pro beneplacito suo ludent, et in hospitio duorum regum possunt servientes eorum ludere, præcepto eorum, usque ad viginti solidos. ⁶ Si autem servientes, aut	Hoveden, 284. b. 9.
Gaming forbidden, except to knights and clerks.		
Fine for excessive gaming.		
fo. 154 v°.		
Restrictions,		

¹ *pars*] medietas, H.² *aliorum plurimorum*] ad hoc electorum, J.; et Radulfi de Chouci, et Drogonis de Merlan, et Roberti de Sabluil, et Andreæ de Chavenni, et Gilberti de Wascuil, Hoveden.³ *venturi erant*] jam venerant, H.⁴ *die*] naturali, ins. H.⁵ *prædictis pecuniis admiscendos*, H.⁶ *solidos*] Et coram archiepiscopis et episcopis, et comitibus et baronibus, præcepto eorum possunt servientes ludere usque ad viginti solidos, ins. H.

- Hoveden, 384. b. 17. " marinarii, aut alii ministri per se inventi fuerint A.D. 1190. October ?
 " ludentes, servientes tribus diebus nudi per exercitum Punishment of culprits.
 " vapulabunt, nisi se voluerint redimere arbitrio prædictorum; et alii ministri similiter. Marinarii vero
 " si luserint, tribus diebus a summo navis in mare
 " demergentur more marinariorum, semel in die, nisi se
 " redimere voluerint arbitrio prædictorum.
- Hoveden, 384. b. 22. " Si autem peregrinus aliquis, postquam iter arripuit Debts contracted on the pilgrimage to be paid.
 " erit, ab aliquo homine in via aliquid mutuo acceperit,
 " mutuum solvet. De eo quod ante iter accepit non
 " tenetur respondere in via.
- Hoveden, 384. b. 24. " Si autem marinarius aliquis conductus vel serviens Serving men not to leave their masters without permission.
 " aliquis, vel quicumque fuerit, exceptis [clericis] et
 " militibus, a domino suo in via hujus peregrinationis
 " recesserit, nemo alius eum recipiet nisi de voluntate
 " domini sui fuerit. Si vero aliquis eum invito priori
 " domino suo receperit, pro arbitrio prædictorum virorum
 " punietur.
- Hoveden, 384. b. 28. " Et si quis contra statuta ista tam sollemniter facta, Penalty of excommunication against offenders.
 " aliquid temere attentaverit, sciat se excommuni-
 " cationi archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, et totius
 " exercitus subiacere. Et omnes transgressores poenis
 " supradictis secundum singulorum conditiones, pro
 " arbitrio prædictorum virorum punientur.
- Hoveden, 384. b. 31. " Præterea statutum est a domino rege Anglorum Regulation of the sale of bread.
 " et constabulariis et justitiis et marescallis exercitus
 " regis Angliæ,¹ quod mercator de quacunque merca-
 " tione sit non potest emere panem ad revendendum
 " in exercitu, nec farinam; nisi aliquis alienigena illam
 " adduxerit, et qui de illa panem fecerit; nec bladum
 " nisi similiter de illo panem fecerit, vel ad secum
 " transfretandum detinuerit. Pastea omnino vetatur Pastry forbidden.
 " ne ematur; et omnia vetantur emenda in villa et
 " infra leucatam villæ. Si autem aliquis bladum emerit

¹ a domino . . . Angliæ] a prædictis regibus, H.

A.D. 1190. " et de eo panem fecerit, tenetur lucrari in salma Hoveden,
384. b. 37.
October 8. " unum terrim¹ tantum et brennon. Alii vero mer-
Merchants " catores, de quacunque mercatione sint mercatores,
not to make " in decem denarios tenentur lucrari unum denarium.
more than " Et ne aliquis sonet² monetam domini regis in qua
ten per cent " moneta apparebit, nisi fracta fuerit infra circulum.
profit: the " Et ne aliquis carnem mortuam emat ad revendendum,
king's coin " nec bestiam vivam, nisi eam occiderit in exercitu.
not to be " Nullus vinum suum post primam conclamationem
rung: dead " carius vendat.

Angevin
money
worth a
quarter of
English.

" Nullus panem faciat³ nisi ad unum denarium. Sci- Hoveden,
384. b. 42.
" ant omnes mercatores quod totum fas⁴ infra leucatam
" villæ: et ut de moneta Angliæ unus denarius detur
" pro quatuor denariis Andegaviæ in omnibus merca-
" turis. Et notandum est quod supradicta constituta
" sunt per consilium regis Franciæ et regis Angliæ et
" regis Siciliæ."

October 8.
The nobles
make pro-
posals to
Richard.

Tertia die autem post captionem civitatis Messanæ, Hoveden,
384. b. 47.
principes civitatis et totius provinciæ dederunt regi
Angliæ obsides de pace sibi et suis servanda; et quod
in manu ejus civitatem Messanæ et totius provinciæ
dominium liberam traderent, nisi Tancredus dominus
illorum rex Siciliæ celerius pacem fecerit cum illo de
omnibus exigentiis suis, quas ab eo exigebat. Rex
namque Angliæ exigebat a Tancredo rege Siciliæ Mon-
tem Sancti Angeli cum toto comitatu et aliis perti-
nentiis suis, ad opus Johannæ sororis suæ, quem Wil-
helmus rex Siciliæ maritus ejus dedit ei in dodarium;
et cathedram auream ad opus ejusdem Johannæ de
consuetudine reginarum terræ illius; et ad opus sui
ipsius mensam auream de longitudine duodecim pedum,
et de latitudine pedis et dimidii, et quoddam tentorium
de serico magnum adeo quod ducenti milites in eo
simul possint comedere; et duos tripedes aureos sub

fo. 155 r.

Richard
demands
the dower
lands and
fortune of
Johanna.

¹ *terrim*] *terunciam*, B.

² *sonet*] *conet*, B.

³ *faciat*] *ad vendendum*, ins. H.

⁴ *fas*] *far*, H.; *fas* est, J.

Hoveden,
385. a. 2.

mensa aurea, et viginti quatuor cuppas argenteas, et viginti quatuor discos argenteos, et sexaginta millia salmas de frumento, et sexaginta millia salmas de hordeo, et totidem de vino, et centum galeas armatas, cum toto apparatu et cum victu galeotarum ad duos annos. Hæc omnia petebat Ricardus rex Angliæ ad opus suum, sicut hæredis regis Angliæ, cui prædictus Willelmus rex Siciliæ omnia illa præparavit, et illi divisit quando in extremis laborabat.

A.D. 1193.
October.
Richard's
claim of the
dower of
Johanna,
and the
legacy left
to king
Henry.

Hoveden,
385. a. 2.

Cui Tancredus rex Siciliæ respondit in his verbis. "Ego dedi Johannæ sorori vestræ decies centena millia terrins¹ pro quieta clamazione dodarii sui antequam a me recederet. De reliquis exigentiis vestris faciam quicquid facere debeo secundum consuetudinem regni hujus." Unde factum est quod per consilium virorum rex Siciliæ dedit regi Angliæ viginti millia unciarum auri pro quieta clamazione dodarii Johannæ sororis suæ; et alia viginti millia unciarum auri pro omni supradictorum quietamantia, quæ in jure petebat de divisa Willelmi regis defuncti, et pro matrimonio contrahendo inter Arturum ducem Britanniæ, nepotem suum, et unam de filiabus regis Tancredi. Quibus ex utraque parte concessis, Ricardus rex Angliæ scripsit in hac forma Tancredo regi Siciliæ.

Tancred
offers a sum
as composi-
tion.

He pays
20,000 ounces
of gold for
the dower,
and a simi-
lar sum for
the legacy,
and for a
marriage
between
Arthur of
Brittany
and a
daughter of
Tancred.

Hoveden,
385. a. 24.

"Tancredo,² Dei gratia, illustri regi Siciliæ, ducatus Apuliæ, principatus Capuæ, Ricardus eadem gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, salutem in Eo Qui dat salutem regibus. Cum pro subvectione terræ Jerosolimitanæ, quam, peccatis exigentibus, ex majori parte paganorum incursus obtinuit, et inimicorum Crucis Christi gladius devastavit, susceptum, inspirante Domino, peregrinationis iter ageremus per terram vestram transitum facientes, apud Messanam civitatem vestram moram facere compulsi sumus, ventorum et maris et temporis inclementia

Richard
writes to
Tancred.

The cru-
saders com-
pelled to
winter at
Messina.

¹ *terrins*] *terencios*, B.; *tirrenis*, J.

² The differences between the text and that of Hoveden, in this document, are merely verbal and

trivial, with the exception of the names noted below. The version printed in the *Fœdera*, i. 52, is taken from Hoveden, not, as it purports in the margin, from Brompton.

A.D. 1190. " navigationis nostræ propositum detinente. Ubi inter popu- **Hoveden,**
 November. " lum nostrum et cives præfatæ urbis seditione casu exorta, **286. a. 31.**
 Quarrels of " damnum hinc inde contigit rerum et virorum; unde visum
 the cru- " est pluribus, ut ea occasione fraterna inter nos caritas et
 saders with " dilectio turbaretur. Curavimus itaque, ut decebat peregrina-
 the people. " tionis nostræ propositum, et tum per nos et dilectos et
 Proposals of " fideles familiares nostros, tum per venerabiles archiepisco-
 peace. " pos vestros, scilicet Ricardum archiepiscopum Messanæ, et
 " Willhelmum archiepiscopum de Monte Regali,¹ et alios viros
 " venerabiles missos a latere vestro, statuimus ut illibatæ
 " pacis inter nos arctius fœdera firmentur, cujus formam du-
 " raturam in ævum scripturæ memoria contineret. Promisi-
 " mus ergo vobis et regno vestro, et toti terræ dominationis
 " vestræ, per nos et nostros, terra et mari pacem perpetuam
 " nos fideliter servaturos, sopitis omnibus quæstionibus quas
 " tum de dodario sororis nostræ reginæ, tum de rebus aliis
 " per nostros vobis nuncios feceramus. Hoc nihilominus ad-
 " dito, quod quamdiu in regno vestro moram fecerimus, ad
 " defensionem terræ vestræ ubicunque præsentis fuerimus,
 " vobis auxilium præbeamus; quicumque vellet eam invadere
 " aut vobis bellum inferre. Hujus autem pacis tenorem et
 " formam, quam in voto habemus et gerimus in proposito,
 " vobis et vestris illæsa fide servare, per Walterum Roto-
 " magensem archiepiscopum, et Girardum Auxiensem archi-
 " episcopum, et per Johannem Ebroicensem, et Bernardum
 " Baonicensem episcopos, et per Jordanum de Humes con-
 " stabularium nostrum, et per Willhelmum de Curci, et per
 " Ricardum de Kamvil, et per Girardum Talebot, et per Ro-
 " bertum de Sablul, et per alios multos nobiliores² de familia
 " nostra fecimus, juramentis præstitis, coram prædictis archi-
 " episcopis ad hoc ipsum efficiendum a vobis destinatis, et
 " viris illustribus vestris, in animam nostram firmari, sicut
 " capitularis forma continet. Ut autem pax ista et fraterna
 " dilectio tam multiplici, quam arctiori vinculo connectatur;

fo. 185 v.
Richard
promises
peace.

Names of
the sureties.

¹ "et Willhelmum archiepiscopum
 " de Risa, et Ricardum filium ve-
 " nerabilis viri Walteri cancellarii
 " vestri,"—add. H.

² Hoveden gives the names in
 extenso :—"et per Guldouem de
 " Croum, et per Guarinum filium
 " Geroldi, et per Bertramnum de
 " Verdun, et per Willhelmum Cham-
 " berlangum de Tancerville, et per
 " Robertum de Novo Burgo, et per

" Hugonem Bardolf, et per Wigain
 " de Cheresburg, et per Gillebertum
 " de Wascuill, et per Hugonem le
 " Brun, et per Johannem le Piller,
 " et per Amauri de Muntfort, et per
 " Andream de Chavenni, et per
 " Willhelmum de Forz Dulerum, et
 " per Gaufridum de Rancune, et per
 " Amauri Torel, et per multos alios
 " de familia," &c.

Hoveden,
383. b. 4.

“ prædictis curiæ vestræ magnatibus id ex parte vestra
 “ tractantibus, Domino disponente condiximus, inter Arturum
 “ egregium ducem Britanniæ, carissimum nepotem nostrum et
 “ hæredem, si forte sine prole nos obire contigerit, et caris-
 “ simam filiam vestram dominam, matrimonium in Christi
 “ nomine contrahendum; ut cum illa, Deo propitio, ad nubiles
 “ annos pervenerit, et vos eam mittetis ad locum ubi pars
 “ utraque consenserit, præfatus nepos noster eam infra quin-
 “ decim dies, postquam ad eum venerit, debeat in uxorem
 “ legitimam desponsare. Aut si celsitudini vestræ placuerit
 “ eam infra annos nubiles desponsari, prædictus nepos noster
 “ juxta beneplacitum vestrum id faciet; si summus pontifex
 “ dispensare voluerit. Volentes autem ei tanquam illustri
 “ dominæ et magnifici regis filie dodarium quod convenit
 “ designari, de ducatu nepotis nostri tale dodarium ei pro
 “ parte ipsius nepotis nostri paciscimur: et quod ad præsens
 “ per præfatos fideles nostros jurari fecimus, et ab ipso ne-
 “ pote nostro concedi et a magnatibus sui ducatus, episcopis
 “ et aliis viris illustribus jurari faciemus. Pecuniam vero a
 “ magnificentia vestra pro matrimonio isto, scilicet viginti
 “ millia uncias auri, nos recepisse ad opus nepotis nostri
 “ fatemur. Hoc in pacto veniente, ut si, quod absit, inter-
 “ veniente morte alterius aut culpa nepotis nostri aut nostra,
 “ vel partis ipsius, matrimonium non fieret, nos aut hæredes
 “ nostri pecuniam vobis aut vestris hæredibus integram sine
 “ difficultate, in loco quo statuerimus, restituemus. Super
 “ his videlicet, et de pace quam vobiscum firmavimus, et de
 “ matrimonio contrahendo, et de pecunia restituenda, si forte,
 “ prædictis causis accidentibus, matrimonium non exstaret,
 “ dominum papam et Romanam ecclesiam in fidejussione
 “ ponimus; ut si forte, quod Deus avertat, ex parte nostra
 “ pacis integritas frangeretur, potestatem habeat ecclesia Ro-
 “ mana nos et terram nostram districtius coercere. Similiter
 “ et ad matrimonium contrahendum, potestatem habeat nos
 “ et partem nepotis nostri constringere; vel si propter causas
 “ prædictas non fieret matrimonium, ad restituendam pecuniam
 “ nos aut hæredes nostros, aut terram nostram cogere habeat
 “ potestatem. Id quoque de fidejussione Romanæ ecclesiæ
 “ nos ita facturos, prædictorum virorum nos obligavimus
 “ juramentis, sicut capitularis forma continet, quod vobis
 “ misimus, sigilli nostri appositione signatum. Si autem no-
 “ bis sine hæredibus decedentibus, ipse ad regnum nostrum
 “ hæreditario jure pervenerit, de regno nostro tale dodarium
 “ illi designamus, videlicet, antiquum et consuetum dodarium
 “ reginarum Angliæ.”

A.D. 1198.
November.
Marriage
of Arthur,
Richard's
heir, with
a daughter
of Tancred,
agreed on.

Dower of
the bride.

Receipt of
20,000 ounces,
to be re-
paid if the
negotiation
should fail.

fo. 156 r.

The pope is
to enforce
the carrying
out of the
agreement.

In case of
Arthur's
succeeding
to the
crown, his
wife will
have the
usual dower.

A.D. 1188.
November.
Form of
oath taken
by Richard's
servants.

Hæc est autem capitularis forma, quæ facta est Hoveden,
282. b. 21.
inter Ricardum regem Angliæ et Tancredum regem
Siciliæ.

"Ego N. juro super hæc sacrosancta Evangelia, quod
dominus meus Ricardus rex Angliæ, ab hac hora in antea
servabit pacem Tancredo regi Siciliæ, ducatus Apulie,
principatus Capue, et regno ejus et toti terræ dominationis
ejus, pacem perpetuam per se et per suos, terra et mari.
Et quamdiu dominus meus Ricardus fuerit in regno domini
regis Tancredi, dabit ei auxilium ad defendendum terram
suam, ubicunque fuerit in terra domini regis Tancredi. Et
quod dominus meus pacem istam manu sua jurabit, si
dominus Tancredus similiter pacem manu sua juraverit. Et
si aliquando, quod absit, dominus meus vellet pacem istam
infringere, ego ponam me in captione ipsius domini regis
Tancredi ubi ipse voluerit. Et hæc omnia dominus meus
Ricardus rex Angliæ et ego, bona fide et sine fraude tene-
bimus. Sic nos Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia,
et sanctorum reliquie. Amen."

A similar
oath taken
on behalf of
Tancred.

Et sciendum quod in ea forma juraverunt archiepi- Hoveden,
282. b. 21.
scopi et episcopi et cæteri homines regis Siciliæ in
animam ipsius, se et suos servaturos pacem Ricardus regi
Angliæ et suis, in terra et mari, quamdiu ipsi fuerint
in terra sua. Et si ipse rex Siciliæ suique pacem non
servaverint, prædicti archiepiscopi et cæteri qui sacra-
mentum illud ex parte regis Tancredi juraverunt,
ponent se in captione regis Ricardi ubi ipse voluerit.

Further
payment of
20,000
ounces.

Et sciendum quod rex Tancredus dedit regi Ricardus Hoveden,
282. b. 24.
Angliæ alia viginti millia uncias auri pro quiete cla-
mantia omnium quæstionum quas fecerat tam de dodario
sororis suæ reginæ quam de omnibus aliis exigentiis
suis. Et ut Tancredus rex securior esset de omnibus
supradictis conventionibus, Ricardus rex scripsit in hac
forma summo pontifici.

"*Epistola Ricardi regis Angliæ ad summum pontificem.*

Nov. 11.
Richard
writes to
the pope.

"Reverendissimo domino ac beatissimo patri Clementi, Dei Hoveden,
282. a. 4.
gratia summo pontifici, Ricardus eadem gratia rex Angliæ,
dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, comes Andegaviæ, salutem
et sinceræ in Domino devotionis affectum. Justiore exitum
facta principum sortiuntur cum a sede apostolica robur et

fo. 156 v°.

Hoveden,
336, a. 12.

“ favorem accipiunt et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ consilio diri-
 “ guntur. Proinde dignum duximus, ad notitiam beatitudinis
 “ vestræ transmittere quæ inter nos et dominum Tancredum
 “ illustrem Siciliæ regem, publico nuper et admodum sunt
 “ necessario celebrata contractu. Sane dilectionem fraternam et
 “ pacem perpetuam cum eo firmavimus, quam magnatum nos-
 “ trorum archiepiscoporum et aliorum virorum illustrium jura-
 “ mentis, ei et suis et regno suo, et toti terræ dominationis suæ
 “ nos illibata fide promissimus servaturos. Cum [ipso] etiam
 “ pacis et amicitiae fœdus arctiori adhuc vinculo astringentes,
 “ inter Arturum egregium ducem Britanniae, carissimum ne-
 “ potem nostrum et hæredem, si nos decedere sine prole con-
 “ tingerit, et illustrem filiam ejus, matrimonium, Domino
 “ volente, condiximus contrahendum; quod Domino largiente
 “ debitam consummationem accipiet, cum illustris puella
 “ nubiles annos attigerit, aut prædicto domino regi Tan-
 “ credo placuerit ut infra nubiles annos illa in uxorem nepoti
 “ nostro desponsanda tradatur, nos ipsum nepotem nostrum
 “ hoc facturum concessimus, si sancta Romana ecclesia decre-
 “ verit similiter dispensare. Pecuniam vero, quam pro matri-
 “ monio isto ad opus nepotis nostri ab eodem domino rege
 “ recepimus, viginti millia uncias auri, si forte, quod absit,
 “ morte interveniente alterius, aut culpa nostra, aut nostri
 “ nepotis, aut partis¹ ipsius, matrimonium non staret; nos aut
 “ hæredes nostri, ipsi domino Tancredo vel hæredibus suis, ex
 “ integro restituere, præstitis super hoc juramentis, ex parte
 “ nostra [tenemur]. Ut igitur tenor pacis initæ, et initiati
 “ matrimonii fides cum integritate debita ex parte nostra et
 “ nepotis nostri servetur, sicut ipsi domino Tancredo inter-
 “ posita iurijurandi religione firmavimus; sanctitatem ves-
 “ tram, et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam obnixè rogamus, qua-
 “ tenus et firmatæ pacis servandæ perpetuo, et matrimonii
 “ consummandi; vel si ex prædictis causis matrimonium
 “ ipsum [non] fieret, restituendæ pecuniæ sancta sedes aposto-
 “ lica fidejussionem pro nobis suscipiat erga dominum regem
 “ Tancredum et hæredes ipsius. Cujus fidejussionis onus ut
 “ confidenter vobiscum Romana ecclesia suscipiat, præsentium
 “ litterarum testimonio vobis et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ
 “ concedimus liberam potestatem nos et hæredes nostros et
 “ terram nostram districtius coercere; si vel contra pacem
 “ præfatam venerimus, vel prædictis causis matrimonio non
 “ secuto, nos aut hæredes nostri solutionem negaremus. Ad
 “ honorem utriusque regni vestra novit beatitudo spectare, si
 “ mediante Romana ecclesia pacis pariter et matrimonii

A.D. 1190.
Nov. 11.
He informs
him of his
treaty with
Tancred;

the contract
of Arthur,
his nephew
and heir;

receipt of
20,000 ounces
of gold for
the mar-
riage, to be
repaid in
case of
failure.

He prays
the pope to
undertake
the execu-
tion of the
contract.

¹ *partis*] patris, B. J.

A.D. 1190. " bonum ad congruum finem deveniat, unde multiplex in **Hoveden,**
 Nov. 11. " futurum utilitas consequatur. Testibus nobis, undecimo die **386. a. 47.**
 " Novembris, apud Messanam."

fo. 187 r.
 Flight of
 Margarit
 and Jordan
 del Pin from
 Messina.

Richard
 fortifies the
 monastery
 of the
 Greeks.

Sed antequam pax ista concessa et confirmata esset **Hoveden,**
 inter regem Angliæ et regem Siciliæ, Margaritus ad- **386. a. 47.**
 miralis et Jordanus del Pin, familiares regis Tancredi,
 quibus ipse civitatem Messanam tradiderat custodien-
 dam, de nocte furtive abierunt; adducentes secum totam
 familiam suam et substantiam quam habebant in auro
 et argento; domos vero illorum et galeas et alias
 possessiones suas saisavit rex Ricardus in manu sua
 illis abeuntibus. Deinde rex Angliæ fossatum magnum
 latum et profundum fecit fieri per medium insulæ quæ
 est in flumine del Far: in qua est prædictum monas-
 terium Griffonum, ubi thesauri regis et victualia cus-
 todiebantur; cujus longitudo totius insulæ continet
 latitudinem ab una ripa in alteram, et finis ejus ter-
 minatur in Caripdim.¹ Et est notandum quod in flu-
 vio illo del Far de Mechines sunt illa duo pericula
 maris maxima, scilicet Silla et Caribdis. Quarum una,
 Silla, est ad introitum del Far prope la Baignare, et
 altera, scilicet Caribdis, est prope exitum del Far. Ad
 cujus cognitionem facta est turris lapidea in prædicta
 insula juxta fossatum regis Angliæ.²

Richard
 builds a
 castle called
 Mategriffon.

Deinde idem Ricardus rex Angliæ firmavit sibi **Hoveden,**
 castellum forte in supercilio montis ardui extra muros **386. b. 2.**
 civitatis Messanæ, quod Mategriffon vocaverunt.
 Griffones vero, ante adventum regis Angliæ, erant
 potentiores omnibus qui erant in terra Siciliæ: et odio
 habebant omnes homines ultramontanos; adeo quod
 minimo habebant illos interficere: nec erat qui adju-
 varet. Sed ex quo rex Angliæ illuc venit, malitia
 eorum quievit, et potestas eorum minuta est, et facti
 sunt viliores omnibus inhabitantibus terram illam. Et
 sperantes se posse contra regem Angliæ, sicut potue-

¹ Caripdim] Charybdim, Hoveden.

² Hoveden continues the descrip-

tion of Scylla and Charybdis for several lines.

Hoveden,
388. b. 12.

runt contra cæteros in diebus antiquis, inciderunt in foveam quam fecerant, et facti sunt profugi in terra. Gens autem Angliæ in maxima habebatur reverentia in regno Siciliæ. Et impletum est propheticum illud quod antiquitus scriptum inveniebatur in tabulis lapideis prope villam regis Angliæ quæ dicitur Here, quam rex Henricus dederat Ranulfo filio Stephani: in qua idem Ranulfus domum magnam construxit, in cujus pinnaculo effigiem cervi statuit: quod factum fuisse creditur ut adimpleretur vaticinium illud quod dicitur,

A.D. 1188.
November.

Fulfillment
of a curious
prophecy.

Hoveden,
388. b. 24.

Zan . 3u . seches . in . here, hert . yreret.
Zan sulen Hengles in 3re be ydeled
Zat han sale into Hyrlande alto ladewaya
Zat ho3er into Poile mid pride bileve
Ze thirde in hayre haughen hert alle ydreghe.

Hoveden,
388. b. 24.

Deinde rex Ricardus pro amore Dei et pro salute animæ suæ, et animæ patris sui, et omnium antecessorum suorum et successorum regum Angliæ, quietum clamavit in perpetuum Wurek per totam Angliam et ultra mare: statuens quod omnis naufragus qui ad terram vivus pervenerit omnes res suas liberas et quietas habeat. Si autem in navi mortuus fuerit, filii vel

Richard
renounces
the royal
right to
wreck, in
favour of the
saved and
the heirs of
the lost.

¹ Hoveden's version is as follows:—

Whan thu seches in Here hert
yreret,
Than sulen Engles in three be
ydeled;
That han sal into Yrland altolate
way,
That oþer into Puille mid prude
bi seve,
The thridde into Airhahen herd
alle Wreke y drechegen.

Hoveden calls the owner of Here, which is, perhaps, Harford in Devonshire, William Fitz Stephen.

Hearne, from Wanley, gives a conjectural emendation:—

Whan þu seest in Here hert
yrered,

þan sulen Engles in þre be
ydeled;
þat an sal into Irland alto lede
wey
þat oþer into Pule mid
beleve,
þe þride in hire a3en hert alle
wreke ydreghe.

The prophecy translated into modern English seems to be,—

Whan thou seest in Here, hart
reared; then shall English in three
be dealed. The one shall into Ire-
land alto lead way: the other into
Apulia, with pride, in speed: the
third in their own heart all sorrow
endure.

A.D. 1190. filiae, fratres aut sorores ejus habeant res suas secundum Hoveden, 386. b. 23.
October. quod ostendere poterint se esse propinquiores illius

Quitclaim
of wreck.

fo. 157 v.

nec sorores habuerit, rex catalla habeat. Hanc autem quietam clamantiam de wrech, fecit rex Ricardus, et carta sua confirmavit, anno secundo regni sui, mense Octobri, apud Messanam; testibus his, Waltero Rotomagensi archiepiscopo, Girardo¹ Auxiensi archiepiscopo, Johanne Ebroicensi et Bernardo Baonicensi episcopis, et multis aliis tam clericis quam laicis de familia regis Angliæ. Carta vero data fuit per manum magistri Rogeri Mali Catuli, vice cancellarii regis.²

May to
August.
Henry
king of the
Germans
claims
Sicily, and
sends an
army into
Apulia.

The count
of Andria
takes part
against
Tancred.

Eodem anno Henricus rex Alemannorum, cum audisset quod Willelmus rex Siciliæ mortuus esset, calumniatus est regnum Siciliæ, et ducatum Apuliæ et principatum Capuæ, de jure Constantiæ uxoris suæ. Et misit archiepiscopum Manguntinum³ et Henricum Teste⁴ cum magno exercitu in Apuliam ad subjiendum eam sibi. Qui intrantes Apuliam in manu hostili, moram fecerunt in ea mense Maii et Junii et dimidio mensis Augusti, vastantes terram et parum proficientes, licet comes Rogerus de Andria⁵ et multi alii, memores sacramenti quod fecerant Constantiæ uxori prædicti regis Alemannorum, illis adhæsissent et auxilium suum præstitissent contra Tancredum regem Siciliæ. Et cum fere totam Apuliam exceptis civitatibus et castellis devastassent, tandem imperfecto negotio domini sui in patriam suam redierunt.

¹ Girardo] Gaufrido, B. J.

² This is the first appearance of Roger Malus Catulus (Machell) as vice-chancellor; but he had probably filled the office since the embarkation at Marseilles, John of Alençon being left in Normandy as vice-chancellor there. There is a charter of March 27, 1191, printed in the *Fœdera*, i. 53, to which Roger's name is attached. He was drowned

off Cyprus on the 24th of April 1191.

³ Conrad of Wittelsbach.

⁴ "Henricum Testam, imperii "marescalcum." R. de S. Germano, ap. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, iii. 956. The count of Pappenheim was the hereditary marshal of the imperial court.

⁵ Master justiciar under William II. Ib. 954.

Hoveden,
388. b. 41.

Eodem anno, plusquam centum millia paganorum A.D. 1190.
virorum ac mulierum, qui in regno Siciliæ erant servi The pagan
Willelmi regis Siciliæ, post mortem ejus indignati sunt subjects of
servire regi Tancredo, tum quia rex Alemannorum king Wil-
calumniatus est regnum Siciliæ, tum quia rex Angliæ liam retreat
infestavit regem Tancredum: et abierunt in montana into the
cum mulieribus, cum filiis et filiabus et pecoribus suis, mountains.
et habitaverunt ibi, et multa [mala] fecerunt Christianis.
Sed cum audissent quod pax et finalis concordia esset They submit
inter regem Angliæ et regem Tancredum, redierunt to Tancred.
in servitutem Tancredi; et datis ei obsidibus reversi
sunt in domos suas, colentes terram sicut consueverant.

Hoveden,
373. a. 40.

Deinde post recessum Alemannorum, Ricardus comes Roger of Andria taken
de Cerne,¹ frater uxoris regis Tancredi, congressus in prisoner.
bello cum comite Rogero de Andria, cepit eum et
tradidit regi Tancredo.

Hoveden,
337. a. 20.

Eodem anno, Sibylla regina Jerusalem, uxor Widonis Death of the
regis, et duæ filiæ ejus, obierunt² in obsidione Acræ. queen of
Quibus defunctis, Conradus marchio de Munferrad ab Jerusalem.
stulit Amfrido del Turun uxorem suam, sororem præ-
dictæ Sibyllæ reginæ Jerusalem et hæredem illius: et
per consilium matris mulieris illius, et per consilium Divorce of
Heracii patriarchæ, et aliorum quorundam, factum the heirs.
est divortium inter ipsam et Amphridum de Turun
maritum ejus. Illa vero post divortium, per consilium Her mar-
omnium primatum terræ illius, data est ipsi Conrado riage with
marchioni in uxorem: qui statim petiit sibi regnum Conrad of
Jerusalemitanum concedi a prædicto patriarcha et a Montferrat.

¹ Sibylla, the wife of Tancred, was a daughter of count Robert of Lucera.

² Sibylla and her children died before Oct. 21, 1190 (Epp. Cantuar. 329), and the marriage of Conrad and Isabella was probably celebrated by the bishop of Beauvais after the 19th of November, on which day archbishop Baldwin, who had ex-

communicated the royal couple, died (Itiner. R. R. 122; Gervase, 1566). As the Itinerarium R. R. states that the capture of the butler of Senlis took place on the wedding day, and Monachus of Florence places that event on the morrow of S. Clement, we may, I think, conclude that the marriage took place on Nov. 24.

A.D. 1190.
Strife be-
tween Guy
and Conrad.

cæteris primatibus regni. Gwido autem rex dicebat hoc non debere fieri illo vivente. Hinc ergo orta est discordia inter Gwidonem et Conradum; et in tantum excrevit quod ipso Conradus, expulso Gwidone, regni jura obtinuit.

Hoveden,
387. a. 22.

July 25.
fo. 188 r.
Unsuccess-
ful sally
from the
camp at
Acre.

Eodem anno, mense Augusti, die Sancti Jacobi Apostoli, decem millia juvenum proborum et bene armatorum exierunt de exercitu Acræ contra prohibitionem regis et patriarchæ et cæterorum magnatum exercitus, et commiserunt prælium cum Saladino; et prævaluit Saladinus, et fere omnes occidit. Pauci tamen eorum evaserunt auxilio Radulfi de Halterive archidiaconi de Colecestre.

Hoveden,
387. a. 12.

November.
Death of
Baldwin
archbishop
of Canter-
bury.
The monks
depose prior
Osbert.
(May, 1191.)

Eodem anno obiit in obsidione Acræ Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus.¹ Quo defuncto, monachi Cantuarienses deposuerunt priorem suum Osbertum de Bristou, quem idem archiepiscopus et Ricardus rex Angliæ constituerant priorem in ecclesia Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ; et alium in loco ipsius fecerunt priorem.²

The duke
of Swabia
comes to
Acre.
(Oct. 3, Bo-
hadin, 140.)

Eodem anno Conradus³ dux Suaviæ, filius Frederici Romanorum imperatoris, venit ad exercitum Acræ cum magno exercitu Teutonicorum et Alemannorum, et paulo post obiit in obsidione Acræ.

Hoveden,
388. b. 50.

December.
Thunder-
storm at
Messina.
(Dec. 19,
Hoveden.)

Eodem anno, mense Decembris, audita sunt tonitrua magna in Sicilia apud Messanam, et fulgura multa præcedebant; et omnis exercitus regum Franciæ et Angliæ exterritus est præ timore. Ictus enim fulminis cecidit in unam galeam regis Angliæ, et demersit eam in profundum: percussitque murum civitatis Messanæ, et contrivit magnam [partem] illius. Milites autem et servientes qui erant in monasterio Griffonum, in quo

Hoveden,
387. a. 36,
longer.

¹ Nov. 19, Gervase. Nov. 20. Ob. Cantuar.

² This was done May 10, 1191. Epp. Cantuar. 334; Gerv. 1570.

³ This is Frederick Duke of Swabia. Conrad was his younger brother. Frederick died Jan. 20, 1191, at Acre.

Hoveden,
387. a. 41.

erant thesauri regis Angliæ, dixerunt pro certo se
vidisse globum igneum super pinnam templi prædicto-
rum Griffonum, qui non erat comburens sed illuminans :
et ibidem moram fecit, donec cessavit tempestas ; et
cessante tempestate recessit lumen illud. Admirantibus
autem illis, et diligenter inquirentibus quid hoc esset,
Griffones ibidem jugiter Deo servientes responderunt
quod sic semper evenit quando tempestas fit.

A.D. 1190.
Dec. 19.
Singular
appearance
during the
storm.

De fastu Willelmi Eliensis episcopi.

Hoveden,
387. b. 1.

Eodem anno, Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, apostolicæ
sedis legatus, et domini regis Angliæ justitiarius, quic-
quid facere voluit in regno fecit : socium aut parem
sibi neminem putabat in regno, nec etiam Johannem
fratrem regis comitem Moretoniæ. Ipse quidem castella,
prædia, abbatias, et omnia jura regis sibi vendicabat
auctoritate legationis suæ. Ad abbatias et prioratus,
et ad alias religiosorum domos hospitaturus veniebat
in tanta superfluitate hominum et equorum et canum
et avium, quod domus in qua ipse una nocte hospita-
batur, vix infra tres annos subsequentes in pristinum
statum redire posset. Laicis vero et clericis ecclesias,
terras et possessiones suas abstulit, quas aut nepotibus
suis aut clericis et serviensibus erogabat, aut damna-
biliter sibi retinebat, aut in usus extraordinarios dila-
pidabat. Nonne considerabat infelix quod moriturus
erat ? Nonne cogitabat quia Dominus ab unoquoque
suæ villicationis rationem aut sui principatus honorem
requirit ? Sed bene de talibus dicitur,

Arrogance
of the bishop
of Ely.

His oppres-
sive visits to
the monas-
teries.

Claudian, In
Eutropium,
141-144.

“ Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum,
“ Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta tenet, desævit in omnes,
“ Ut se posse putet, nec bestia sævior ulla
“ Quam servi rabies in libera terga furentis.”

Hoveden,
387. b. 20.

Eodem anno, tertia die post festum Sancti Michaelis,
exierunt Saraceni a civitate Acree circiter quatuor

Oct. 1.
No. 198 v.

- A.D. 1199. millia, armati; et combusserunt quatuor hurdicios per *Hoveden,*
 Oct. 1. ignem Græcum; sed viliter retrusi sunt per milites *337. b. 21.*
Rally of the
Saracens
from Acre
repulsed.
 Nov. 11. exercitus armatos, et amiserunt viginti tres Turcos
 A second
 rally de-
 feated. occisos præter vulneratos. Deinde ad festum Sancti
 Martini, exierunt iterum Saraceni a civitate Acræ, et
 impetum fecerunt in Christianos, qui viriliter restiterunt
 eis. Et Baldewinus de Carun, et Walterus de Oyri,
 et Baldewinus de Dargis, bene sustinuerunt impetum
 illorum donec comes Henricus¹ et Gaufridus de Lesinan
 cum Templariis supervenirent. Qui cum tanto impetu
 coegerunt paganos retroire,² quod pagani amiserunt in
 illa fuga quadraginta homines occisos et multos vulne-
 ratos.
- December. Deinde inter festum Sancti Andreæ et Natale Do- *Hoveden,*
The cru- mini, fuit totus exercitus Christianorum armatus, et *337. b. 22.*
saders at-
tempt an
escalade. volebat insultum facere in civitatem Acræ. Et Ale-
 manni et Angli traxerunt scalas ad fossata; et exierunt
 a civitate pagani, et abstulerunt Alemannis scalas suas,
 et Anglos fugaverunt a fossato, et funes ligaverunt
They are
repulsed,
but the En-
glish save
their ladder. super scalam Anglorum, volentes eam infra civitatem
 trahere. Sed Radulfus de Tilli,³ et Humfridus de
 Velli, et Robertus de la Lande, et Rogerus de Glanvil
 ascenderunt super scalam, et quater exstinxerunt ignem
 Græcum injectum. Radulfus vero de Tilli propius
 accedens, abscidit cum gladio suo funes, et sic liberavit
 scalam illam a manibus paganorum.
- Famine from De- Deinde inter festum Sancti Andreæ et Natale Domini, *Hoveden,*
 cember to February. incepit fames in exercitu Christiano, et duravit usque *337. b. 37.*
 Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ.
- Et in tantum excrevit quod unus panis, qui vix *Hoveden,*
338. b. 51.

¹ Of Champagne, afterwards king of Jerusalem, 1192.

² This seems to be the battle of Nov. 12 (Itin. R. R. 115), after which Saladin retired from Tel Ajadia to Tel Caisan. Bohadin, 148.

³ Ralph de Tilli was constable to Roger archbishop of York, in 1174 (vol. i., p. 65). Roger Glanvill was sheriff of Cumberland in 1 Rich. I., and had been a baron of the Exchequer in 30 Henry II.

Hoveden,
387. a. 1,
shorter.

sufficiebat uni soli homini ad prandium, vendebatur pro decem solidis Andegavensis monetæ. Caro vero equina erat illis in deliciis; et suma unius equi de frumento vendebatur pro ducentis bisantiis. Et cum fames illa excrevisset iterum ut fere omnes perirent fame et inopia, venit clamor populi ad Hubertum Walteri episcopum Salesbiriensem. Et ipse, Divina inspirante gratia, convenit principes exercitus, et consilio eorum statuit collectam ad opus pauperum exercitus. Et tantum incrementum dedit Dominus collectæ illi, quod sufficebat sustentationi omnium donec Largitor bonorum omnium Deus prospiciens ex alto, misit eis abundantiam frumenti, et vini et olei. Tertia enim die post collectam pauperibus distributam, venerunt naves onustæ frumento, vino et oleo, et fecerunt forum bonum; ita quod summa equi de frumento, quæ vendebatur pro ducentis bisantiis pro sex data fuit bisantiis.

A.D. 1190.
December.
Famine
among the
hostagers at
Acre.

Arrival of
provisions.

Hoveden,
387. b. 39.

Eodem anno cum Henricus rex Alemannorum audisset quod Fredericus Romanorum imperator pater suus mortuus esset; reddidit Henrico duci Saxonie universa quæ pater suus ei abstulerat; et incrementum dedit ei decem castella optima. Similiter fecit cæteris omnibus a quibuscumque pater suus aliquid abstulerat, reddens unicuique quod suum erat.

Peace
between
Henry VI.
and Henry
the Lion.

Hoveden,
387. b. 48,
shorter.

Pacatis¹ itaque sibi omnibus hominibus suis, misit nuncios suos ad Clementem papam et ad senatores urbis Romanæ, petens sibi Romanum imperium, et promittens se in omnibus leges et dignitates Romanas servaturum illæsas. Clemens vero papa, habito cum senatoribus et populo Romano super petitionibus regis Alemannorum cum deliberatione consilio; respondit rem bene processuram si idem rex Alemannorum consilio et voluntati ejus et senatorum adquieverit. Erat

Henry VI.
sends to
Rome to
demand the
to. 150 r.
empire.

¹ The peace of Fulda, between Henry VI. and Henry the Lion, is said to have been concluded in July. Prutz, Heinrich der Löwe,

p. 394. Henry VI. does not seem to have heard of his father's death before November. V. Chr. Godefr. Mon. (ap. Freher. i. 354.)

A.D. 1190. **The pope returns a favourable answer.** enim de consilio eorum quod illum in dominum et in imperatorem reciperent, si ipse jurasset se leges et dignitates servaturum illibatas. Clemens itaque summus pontifex, accersitis coram illo et senatu Romanorum nunciis Henrici regis Alemannorum, mandavit prædicto regi quod ipse et Romani reciperent eum in imperatorem.

Marriage of David of Scotland.

Eodem anno David frater Willelmi regis Sootiæ duxit sibi in uxorem sororem Ranulfi comitis Cestriæ. **Hoveden, 367. b. 51.**

Bucard the treasurer of York goes to Rome, and hinders the confirmation of Geoffrey to the see of York.

Eodem anno orta iterum seditione inter Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum et Bucardum ejusdem ecclesiæ thesaurarium, idem Buccardus Clementem papam adiit, et absolvi meruit a vinculo excommunicationis quo Eboracensis electus eum innodaverat; et negotium Eboracensis electi adeo impedivit adversus summum pontificem, quod nec confirmare electionem suam voluit, nec ei pallium mittere. Præterea præfatus papa privilegiavit Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, ne ipse professionem aliquam aut subjectionem faceret Gaufrido Eboracensi electo, nec si ipse fuerit in archiepiscopum consecratus.¹ **Hoveden, 367. b. 52.**

Confessio Ricardi regis.

Richard does penance at Messina.

Interim Ricardus rex Angliæ, Divina inspirante gratia, recordatus est fœditatis vitæ suæ: vepres enim libidinis excreverant caput illius, et non erant eradicantis manus. Sed Solus Deus, Qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat, respexit eum oculis Misericordiæ Suæ; et dedit illi cor poenitens; adeo quod ille, convocatis² universis archiepiscopis et episcopis suis, qui aderant, nudus, portans in manibus tria flagella facta de virgis lævigatis, procidit ad pedes eorum, **Hoveden, 368. a. 7. shorter.**

¹ Hoveden adds, "ea ratione quod idem Dunelmensis episcopus semel fecerat professionem suam Eboracensi ecclesiæ, et beato Willelmo, tunc temporis

"Eboracensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopo, et ejus catholicis successoribus."

² "in anum in capella Reginaldi de Moyac." Add. Hoveden.

Hoveden,
288. a. 10,
shorter.

et peccatorum suorum fœditatem coram illis confiteri A.D. 1190.
non erubuit, cum tanta humilitate et cordis contritione He receives
absolution,
and forswears
his sin.
quod credatur sine dubio Illius opus exstitisse Qui
respicit terram et facit eam tremere. Deinde peccatum
illud abjuravit, et a prædictis episcopis pœnitentiam
condignam suscepit; et ab illa hora factus vir timens
Deum et faciens bona, ulterius non est reversus ad
iniquitatem suam. O felicem illum qui sic cadit ut
fortior surgat! O felicem illum qui post pœnitentiam
non est relapsus in culpam.

Eodem anno orta est gravis dissensio inter Romanos Dispute
between
Clement III
and the
Romans.
et papam Clementem, quæ nunquam quievit donec
idem papa conventionaverat tradere eis civitatem suam
Tusculanam ad destruendum; erat enim semper con-
traria, et eam odio habebant. Idem vero papa eos
protrahens de die in diem, tradere eam illis distulit.

*Hæc sunt nomina quorundam nobilium defunctorum
eodem anno in obsidione Acræ.*

Hoveden,
288. a. 10.

Sibylla regina, uxor Gwidois regis Jerusalem, et List of those
who died at
Acre.
duæ filiæ ejus; ¹ Heraclius patriarcha Jerusalem; Balde-
winus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus; ² archiepiscopus de
Nazareth, archiepiscopus de Besenzun, ³ archiepiscopus
de Arle la Blanche; archiepiscopus de Monte Regali;
episcopus de Sydoni, novus episcopus de Acra, fo. 159 v.
episcopus de Baruth, episcopus de Sancto Georgio; episcopus
de Sancto Habraam, episcopus de Tabaria; abbas de
Templo Domini; abbas de Monte Syon; abbas de
Monte Oliveti; abbas de Fordet, ⁴ prior Sancti Sepulcri,
Radulfus archidiaconus Colecestræ, Rogerus le Habe, ⁵

¹ Sibylla and her children, be-
fore Oct. 21, 1190.

² Baldwin, Nov. 19 or 20, 1190.

³ Thierri of Montfaucon, d. Nov.
23, 1191. Gall. Chr. i. 127.

⁴ Fordet] Forde, H. Perhaps
we should read Ford, et. Robert
abbot of Ford died about 1190.

⁵ Rogerus le Abbe, Hoveden.

A.D. 1190. Sylvester¹ senescallus Cantuariensis archiepiscopi; Johannes de Morwic canonicus Eboracensis.

List of the
dead, on the
crusade.

Fredericus Romanorum imperator obiit² in eundo versus terram Jerusalem, submersus in fluvio qui dicitur Salef. Et Conradus³ filius, dux Suaviæ, obiit in obsidione Acræ. Robertus comes Leicestræ in Rumania, in eundo versus terram Jerusalem. Landegravus⁴ de Alemannia in Rumania in redeundo. Johannes⁵ constabularius Cestræ in terra Jerusalem apud Tyrum, Robertus⁶ comes de Pertico in obsidione Acræ. Comes de Puntyf,⁷ et Teobaldus comes de Blays,⁸ et Stephanus comes de Sauneis,⁹ frater ejus. Willelmus comes de Ferrers, dux Bertoldus de Alemannia,¹⁰ Rogerus¹¹ comes de Apulia, comes de Brenes¹² et Andreas frater ejus.¹³

Hoveden,
390. b. 2.

Those slain
in battle
or taken
prisoners.

Isti occisi sunt in prælio: Lodowicus de Arseles, Hugo de Hoiri, Walterus de Moy, Gwido de Danci, Odo de Gunes, Reginaldus de Magni. Pincerna de Sain Liz¹⁴ captus est a paganis, et marescallus comitis Henrici.¹⁵

Hoveden,
390. b. 12.

Isti obierunt eodem anno in obsidione Acræ; vicecomes de Turonia,¹⁶ Gillebertus de Tillers, Florentius

Hoveden,
390. b. 15.

¹ Sylvester] See Epp. Cantuar. 8, 25.

² June 10, 1190.

³ Frederick, d. Jan. 20, 1191. Chron. Reichersperg, 343.

⁴ Louis III. of Thuringia, d. Oct. 16, 1190. Wilken, iv. 287.

⁵ De Lacy, d. Oct. 11. Mon. Angl. v. 533.

⁶ Rotrou III., 1144-1190.

⁷ John I., 1147-1191.

⁸ Theobald died the same day as Frederick of Swabia, Jan. 20, 1191. Bohadin, 157.

⁹ The count of Sancerre d. before Oct. 21, 1190, as did also the earl of Ferrers. Epp. Cantuar. 329.

¹⁰ Both Berthold V. of Zähringen and Berthold V. of Meran were in

the crusade, and both returned home safely. The person meant here may be Frederick, the son of Berthold V. of Meran, who died at Acre.

¹¹ Son of king Tancred. Hoveden adds, "Jocelinus comes de Apulia."

¹² Erard.

¹³ Andrew of Brienne. d. Oct. 4, 1189. Itin. R. R. 71. Hoveden adds, "Ingeram de Fenes, occisus."

¹⁴ William of Senlis, grand butler. See Itin. R. R. 122. He was captured Nov. 24, 1190.

¹⁵ William of Villehardouin (?). See Du Cange's Villehardouin, 236.

¹⁶ Raymond II., viscount of Turanne, 1143-1190. Hoveden adds here, "dominus de Wanci."

Hoveden,
394. b. 16.

de Angest,¹ Jocelinus de Munmorenc, vicecomes de A.D. 1190.
Castello Haraldi; Anselmus de Monte Regali et tota List of those
familia ejus; vicecomes de Casteln et mater ejus; who died at
Johannes comes Vendomiæ;² castellanus de Ypre; Acre.
Gaufridus la Bruiere; Robertus de Boves; Adam³
camberlanus regis Franciæ, Adam de Loum, Willelmus
de Pinkenni⁴ castellanus, Rogerus de Pole baro, Ro-
bertus senescallus Willelmi de Mandevil.

Hoveden,
394. b. 21,
shorter.

Henricus de Braeley et Johannes de Malepalu obie- Englishmen
runt apud Cataine potionati. Ranulfus de Glanvil,⁵ who died on
justitiarius regis Angliæ, obiit in obsidione Acræ; the crusade.
Bernardus de Sancto Valerico junior, Ricardus de
Clare, Gwido de Castellun;⁶ Radulfus persona de
Croxebi, Ricardus de Laxeby, et Berenger frater ejus,
Robertus le Venur del Pumfrait, Robertus Scrop de
Bartun; Ranulfus de Tange, Henricus Pigot senescallus
comitis de Warennæ, Walterus Scrop, Walterus de
Kyma filius Philippi de Kyma, Johannes de Lamburne,
Walterus de Ros frater Petri de Ros.⁷

In secundo anno comes Flandriæ Philippus,⁸ et Ra- Deaths in
dulfus clericus de dispensa regis. 1191.

In tertio anno obierunt apud Acram, Radulfus de
Aubeni, Nigellus de Mumbray projectus in mare, Si-
mon de Wale projectus in mare.

Item; in tertio anno Ricardus de Camvil apud Acram;⁹
Willelmus de Kamvil projectus in mare; Bertram de

¹ Florence III. count of Holland, d. at Antioch, Aug. 1, 1190 (J. de Beka, 57) (?).

² John count of Vendome, d. in 1192, after his return. Art de Verif. les Dates, xii. 493.

³ Adam de Villebeon (perhaps a son of the chamberlain, Walter de Villebeon).

⁴ The viscount of Pecquigny, d. July 1192. Hoveden, 408.

⁵ Ranulf Glanvill, Bernard of S.

Valery, and Richard of Clare, d. before Oct. 21, 1190. Epp. Cantuar. 329.

⁶ Guy of Châtillon, lord of Montjail.

⁷ It is worth observing that the last eleven names are nearly all those of Yorkshire or Lincolnshire men.

⁸ Philip died at Acre, June 1, 1191. Hoveden, 394.

⁹ June 1191. See below.

A.D. 1190. Verdun apud Jopen, Gillebertus Pipard¹ apud Brandiz, Jaches de Avennis occisus,² Drogo filius Radulfi³ apud Acram, Willelmus filius Nigelli de Kent⁴ apud Acram; Willelmus⁵ filius Philippi Baro apud Acram, et Reginaldus de Suffeld, Rainer vicecomes Eboraci in insula de Cypre, Hugo dux Burgundiae apud Acram,⁶ Marchio⁷ occisus ab Assasisis, et Osmundus de Stutevil apud Joppen,⁸ Robertus Wacelin clericus apud Acram.

fo. 100 r.
The kings
keep Christ-
mas of 1190-
91 at Mes-
sina.

Quarrels
among the
sailors,
Dec. 26.

The rioters
are dis-
persed.

Dec. 28.
The tumult
renewed.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi M^oC^oXC^o, Philippus rex Franciae et Ricardus rex Angliae fuerunt simul in Sicilia apud Messanam die Nativitatis Dominicae, quae feria tertia evenit. Et in ipso die Nativitatis Dominicae post prandium, Pisani et Januenses seditiose fecerunt impetum in galiotas regis Angliae, et mutuo se interfecerunt. Venit ergo rumor ad aures regis Angliae, qui adhuc sedebat ad mensam in Mategrifion castello suo; et epulabatur cum eo, die illa, Reinaldus⁹ Carnotensis episcopus, et Hugo dux Burgundiae, et Willelmus¹⁰ comes de Neverz, et Willelmus¹¹ comes de Juvenni, et Gaufridus comes de Pertico, et tota fere familia regis Franciae. Et velocius surrexerunt omnes viri illi, et rex et illi processerunt armati ad pugnam illam dirimendam, nec poterant: sed nocte superveniente separati sunt ab invicem usque mane.

Hoveden,
291. a. 28.

Hoveden,
291. a. 28.

¹ Sheriff of Lincolnshire 1 Rich. I, &c. See above, vol. i., p. 108.

² At the battle of Arsé, Sept. 1, 1191.

³ Sheriff of Lincolnshire 28 Hen. II.

⁴ William Fitz-Neal, the steward of S. Thomas of Canterbury.

⁵ See Epp. Cantuar. 134, 143.

⁶ July 1192.

⁷ April 28, 1192.

⁸ August 1192 (?)

⁹ Reginald de Monçon, 1187-1217.

¹⁰ Peter of Courtenay had the title of count of Nevers in the right of his wife Agnes. See above, p. 7.

¹¹ William I., count of Joigny.

Hoveden, 391. a. 31. dam galiotarum interfecit; et sic Pisani iterum et A.D. 1199. Dec. 26. The kings make peace.
galiotæ congressi sunt, et multi ceciderunt ex utraque parte interfecti. Venerunt ergo rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ cum multa plebe armata; et pacem fecerunt inter eos.

Hoveden, 393. a. 17 with variations. In illo tempore erat quidam abbas in Calabria de ordine Cisterciensi, dictus Joachim abbas de Curacio,¹ spiritum habens propheticum, ventura populo prædicebat. Rex autem Angliæ libenter illius audiebat prophetias et sapientiam et doctrinam. Eruditus enim erat in Divinis Scripturis, et interpretabatur visiones beati Johannis Evangelistæ quas vidit, sicut ipse narrat in Apocalypsi, quam ipse manu sua scripsit; in quibus audiendis rex et sui plurimum delectabantur.

Hoveden, 393. a. 26. Rev. xii. 1-6. Loculus autem hic erat, "Mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus ejus; et in capite ejus corona stellarum duodecim, et pariens cruciabatur ut pareret. Et ecce draco magnus rufus habens capita septem, et cornua decem, et in capitibus ejus septem diademata, et cauda ejus trahebat tertiam partem stellarum cœli, et misit eas in terram. Qui stetit ante mulierem quæ paritura erat; ut cum peperisset filium ejus devoraret. Mulier autem peperit filium masculum, qui recturus erat omnes gentes in virga ferrea. Et raptus est filius ejus ad Deum et ad thronum Ejus. Mulier autem fugit in solitudinem, ubi habet locum paratum a Deo, ut pascat eam ibi diebus MCCLX."

Hoveden, 393. a. 33. Hujus igitur visionis interpretatio; secundum Joachim abbatem de Curacio talis est: "Mulier amicta sole et luna sub pedibus ejus," significat sanctam ecclesiam, Sole justitiæ, Qui est Christus Dominus, obumbratam et amictam: sub cujus pedibus mundus

¹ Joachim, abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Corazzo, and, in 1189, founder of the order of Flore, died in 1202, at the age of 90. His exposition of the Apocalypse was printed at Venice in 1527. The

passages given above as representing his views are not from this book, but coincide so far with it, as to appear to be the work of a person who had conversed with him.

A.D. 1191.
fo. 100 v.
Joachim
explains
who are the
seven heads
of the
dragon.

iste cum vitiis et concupiscentiis suis semper est conculcandus. "Et in capite ejus corona stellarum duo-
"decim;" Caput ecclesie Christus est; corona ecclesie fides catholica quam duodecim prædicaverunt apostoli.
"Et pariens cruciabatur ut pareret," significat sanctam ecclesiam semper gaudentem novo foetu, ac ut animas lucrifaciat Deo laborans cruciatur. "Et ecce draco
"magnus rufus, habens capita septem, et cornua decem," significat diabolum qui bene dicitur septem habere capita:—caput diaboli omnis iniquus est; septem ponit, quasi finitum pro infinito. Infinita sunt enim capita diaboli, id est, persecutores ecclesie et iniqui, de quibus licet infinita sint, tamen idem Joachim in expositione sua septem ponit principales ecclesie persecutores, quorum hæc sunt nomina, Herodes, Nero, Constantius, Maumet, Melsemutus,¹ Saladinus, Antichristus: et de his dicit beatus Johannes Evangelista in Apocalypsi, "reges septem sunt; quinque
"cecidērunt, et unus est, et unus nondum venit." Quod idem Joachim interpretatur dicens, reges septem, scilicet Herodes, Nero, Constantius, Maumet, Melsemutus, Saladinus, Antichristus; ex his quinque ceciderunt, scilicet Herodes, Nero, Constantius, Maumet, Melsemutus; et unus est, scilicet Saladinus, qui in præsentī opprimit ecclesiam Dei, et eam cum sepulcro Domini, et sancta civitate Jerusalem, et cum terra in qua steterunt pedes Domini, in servitutem redigit; et ipse in proximo amittet regnum Jerosolimitanum et interficietur; et milvorum rapacitas peribit, et erit illorum strages maxima, qualis non fuit ab initio mundi; et fiet habitatio eorum deserta, et civitates illorum desolabuntur; et Christiani revertentur ad amissa pascua, et nificabunt in eis.

Herodes,
282, a. 32.

Saladin is
the sixth
head, and
is shortly to
fall.

¹ *Melsemutus*] The name of Massamuti is given by Robert de Monte (A.D. 1154, &c.) to the Almohads. Hugo Falcaudi calls them Masnudi (ed. Fazello, p. 618); D'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, 626), Mossamedoun. The person called Melsemutus was probably Abdalmumen, the founder of the sect and dynasty.

¹ Et conversus ad regem Angliæ ait, "Hæc omnia A.D. 1191.
 "reservavit Dominus et per te fieri permittet, Qui Richard is
 "dabit tibi de inimicis tuis victoriam, et Ipse nomen to be victo-
 "tuum glorificabit in æternum, et tu Ipsum glorificabis, rious.
 "et in te Ipse glorificabitur, si in opere cepto per-
 "severaveris." "Et unus nondum venit," id est An- Antichrist
 tichristus. De isto Antichristo dicit idem abbas de is yet to
 Curacio, sentire quod jam natus est, quindecim annos come, but
 habens a nativitate: sed in potestate sua nondum is already
 venit. born, and
 now fifteen
 years old.

Admirantibus autem cunctis super his quæ ab illo Abbot
 audiebant, dixit ei rex "Ubi est Antichristus natus? Joachim
 "Et ubi regnaturus est?" Respondit ei Joachim tells Richard
 coram Waltero Rotomagensi archiepiscopo, N. de Ap- that Anti-
 pamia, et Girardo Auxiensi archiepiscopis; et Johanne christ is
 Ebroicensi, et Bernardo Baoniensi, episcopis, et coram born at
 multis aliis honestis viris tam clericis quam laicis, Rome, and
 quod Antichristus ille in urbe Romana jam natus esse will occupy
 creditur, et in ea sedem apostolicam obtinebit, de quo the aposto-
 dicit Apostolus, "et adversatur et extollitur supra lic see.

Hoveden,
 389. b. 2.

¹ Hoveden's variations at this point are so very curious that I give them here in full. Instead of *in servitutem redigit*, he goes on, "*ocupatam detinet, sed ipse in proximo perdet illam.*" Tunc interrogavit rex Angliæ, 'Quando erit hoc?' Cui Joachim respondit, 'Quando septem anni elapsi erunt a die captionis Jerusalem.' Tunc ait rex Angliæ, 'Ergo quare venimus huc tam cito?' Cui Joachim respondit, 'Adventus tuus valde necessarius est, quia Dominus dabit tibi victoriam de inimicis tuis, et exaltabit nomen tuum super omnes principes terræ.' It would appear from this that the text was originally written before the death of Saladin,

who was not killed, but died a natural death; and before the failure of Richard's crusade, the success of which is here predicted. Hoveden, on the other hand, writing after the event, retrenches all that is definite in the prophecy relating to Richard, and omits all reference to the death of Saladin. It is possible, however, that Hoveden's version was written before 1194, to which year the recovery of Palestine is fixed; or, if written after the death of Saladin in 1193, is intended to suggest a non-natural interpretation of the prophecy of his loss of Palestine. The rest of the discussion is given at greater length in the text than in Hoveden, who omits the king's share in the disputation altogether.

A.D. 1191. " omne quod dicitur Deus aut quod colitur ; ita ut in Hoveden, 288. b. 2, shorter.
 " templo Dei sedeat, ostendens se tanquam sit Deus.

2a. 161 r. " Et tunc revelabitur ille iniquus quem Dominus
 " Jesus interficiet spiritu oris Sui, et destruet illus-

Richard declares that pope Clement III. must be Antichrist. " tratione adventus Sui." Cui rex ait, " Si Anti- 2 Thom. ii. 4, 5.
 " christus in Roma natus est, et ibi sedem apostoli-
 " cam possidebit, scio quod ipse est ille Clemens qui
 " modo papa est." Hæc autem dicebat quia papam
 illum odio habebat.

Richard's own opinion about Antichrist. Et iterum ait rex, " Putabam quod Antichristus Hoveden, 288. b. 5.
 " nasceretur in Babylonia, vel in Antiochia, de stirpe
 " Dan, et regnaret in Templo Dei, quod est in Jeru-
 " salem, et in terra illa ambularet ubi steterunt pedes
 " Domini ; et regnaret per tres annos et dimidium
 " anni ; et disputaret cum Enoch et Helia, et eos in-
 " terficeret, et postea moreretur ; et post mortem ejus
 " daret Deus poenitentiam sexaginta dies, in quibus
 " poeniterent illi qui a via veritatis erraverunt, et
 " seducti fuerunt per prædicationem Antichristi et
 " pseudorum prophetarum ejus."

Joachim's exposition of the ten horns. ¹ Sequitur de decem cornibus. "Decem cornua dia- Hoveden, 288. b. 10.
 " boli sunt hæreses et schismata quæ hæretici et
 " schismatici opponunt contra decem præcepta et man-
 " data Dei." " Et in capitibus ejus septem diade-
 " mata ;" qui sunt reges et principes hujus sæculi qui
 in illum credituri sunt. " Et cauda ejus trahebat ter-
 " tiam partem stellarum cœli, et misit eas in terram ;"
 hoc est in fine perdet omnes qui perseverantes in eo
 crediderint, et mittet eos in gehennam. Draco qui
 steterat ante mulierem parituram, ut cum peperisset,
 filium suum devoraret, diabolus est, qui semper insi-
 diatur ecclesiæ, ut partum ejus rapiat, et raptum
 devoret. Qui ideo bene dicitur stare, quia nunquam
 declinat a malo, sed semper stat rigidus in malitia
 sua et inflexibilis in versutia sua fraudia. Vel aliter ;

¹ This portion of the prophecy is given at somewhat greater length in *Hoveden*.

Hoveden,
388. b. 21.

cauda ejus significat finem sæculi, in qua surgent quædam gentes iniquæ quæ dicuntur Gog et Magog, et destruent ecclesiam Dei. In tempore autem Antichristi, multi Christianorum in cavernis terræ, et in solitudinibus petrarum morantes, fidem Christianam in timore Dei servabunt, usque ad consummationem Antichristi.

A.D. 1181.
Abbot
Joachim's
exposition.

Hoveden,
388. b. 22.

Et hoc est quod dicit, "Mulier fugit in desertum "Ægypti, ubi habet locum paratum a Deo ut ibi pascat "eam diebus MCLX.;" filius autem ejus masculus qui recturus erat omnes gentes in virga ferrea, est Jesus Christus, Qui raptus est ad Deum, et ad thronum Ejus, et avulsus est ab oculis intuentium. Cujus sequaces si fuerimus, perseverantes in mandatis Ejus, rapiemur in æra Illi obviam, et sic cum Illo semper erimus.

Hoveden,
388. b. 23.

At licet idem abbas de Curacio prænominatam sententiam proferret de adventu Antichristi, plures tamen et fere omnes viri ecclesiastici in scripturis Divinis plurimum eruditi, nitebantur probare in contrarium; multisque hinc inde prolatis verisimilibus sententiis; tamen adhuc sub judice lis est.

His opinions
are not
generally
received.

Hoveden,
391. a. 24.

Mense Februarii, die Purificationis Dei genitricis Mariæ, Sabbato, post prandium, Ricardus rex Angliæ et multi milites de familia ejus, et multi de familia regis Franciæ convenerunt, more solito, extra civitatem Messaniam pluribus¹ jocis intenti: et cum domum redissent, transitum facientes per medium civitatis, obviaverunt cuidam rustico venienti de villa cum onusto æsello arundinibus, quas cannas vocant: de quibus rex Angliæ, et cæteri qui cum eo comitabantur, ceperunt; et unusquisque illorum, alter adversus alterum, congressus est.

Feb. 2.
Richard
and his
attendants
sitt with
reeds.

no. 161 v.

Hoveden,
391. a. 46.

Et contigit quod rex Angliæ et Willelmus de Bares, quidam miles strenuus de familia regis Franciæ, con-

Quarrel of
Richard

¹ pluribus] popularibus, H., with marginal note "al. pluribus."

A.D. 1191.
Feb. 2.
with Wil-
liam des
Barres.

gredientes ad invicem fregerunt arundines suas. Fracta est cappa regis ex percussione Willelmi; unde iratus rex impetum fecit in Willelmum, ita quod ipsum Willelmum et equum suum titubare fecit: et dum intenderet eum dejicere in terram, declinavit sella regis, descenditque celerius rex et protenus alium fortio-rem ascendit; iterumque impetum faciens in eundem Willelmum dejicere non valuit: Willelmus enim adhæsit collo equi sui; et comminatus est ei rex. Et cum Robertus de Breuil, filius Roberti comitis Leices- triæ defuncti, cui rex paulo ante¹ comitatum patris sui dederat, et accinxerat ei gladium comitatus Leices- triæ, iniecisset manum in prædictum Willelmum, ut dominum suum regem adjuvaret; "Sustine," ait rex, "et dimitte me et illum solum." Cumque rex et Willelmus et dictis et factis ita diutius contendissent; prorumpens rex ait illi, "Fuge hinc, et cave tibi, ne " amplius coram me compareas, quia amodo et tibi et " tuis ero inimicus perpetuus." Discedens itaque Wil- lelmus propter regis iram et malevolentiam dolens et confusus, abiit ad dominum suum regem Franciæ, consilium et auxilium postulans ab eo super his quæ in via acciderant.

Richard
vows per-
petual
enmity to
him.

Feb. 3.
The king of
France in-
tercedes.

In crastino venit rex Franciæ, ex parte Willelmi, ad regem Angliæ, cum supplici deprecatione pacem et misericordiam postulans, et rex noluit audire illum.

Hoveden,
301. a. 55.

Feb. 4.
The nobles
intercede
for him.

Die sequenti venerunt ad regem comes Carnotensis,² et dux Burgundiæ et comes de Neverz pluresque de proceribus Franciæ cum humillimis supplicationibus ad genua ejus provoluti, pro eadem re postulantes; sed nec rex eos audire voluit. Recessit proinde die

Hoveden,
301. b. 1.

¹ paulo ante] die præcedenti, H.

² comes Carnotensis] archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Hoveden (Savile). Perhaps we should read "episcopus "Carnotensis;" for the archbishop of Canterbury was dead at Acre,

and the count of Chartres, who was better known as count of Blois, was also dead in Palestine. Brompton follows the text. The bishop of Chartres was at Messina: see pp. 128, 150.

Hoveden,
391. b. 2.

tertia Willelmus de Bares de civitate Messana, quia eum rex Franciæ noluit retinere contra voluntatem regis Angliæ. Post dies multos, cum tempus transfretandi advenisset, venerunt iterum ad regem Angliæ, rex Franciæ et omnes archiepiscopi et episcopi et comites et barones exercitus, et provoluti ad pedes ejus pacem et misericordiam postulantes pro prædicto Willelmo, ostendentes quæ damna de absentia tanti ac talis militis possent accidere. Tandem cum magna difficultate adversus regem Angliæ obtinuerunt quod Willelmus de Bares in pacem rediret: promittente rege Angliæ nec illi nec suis quicquam damni inquireret nec inferret quamdiu in servitio Dei essent.

A.D. 1191.
February.
He leaves
Messina.

After
some time
Richard is
reconciled
with him.

Hoveden,
391. b. 13.

Eodem mense Februarii plures de navibus quæ de Anglia venerant dedit regi Franciæ et suis. Thesaurus quoque ita profuse distribuit comitibus, baronibus, militibusque et servientibus exercitus, quod nullus prædecessorum suorum unquam vel in anno dederit, quantum tunc donavit in mense Februarii. Unde et favorem donantis creditur promeruisse, quia hilarem datorem diligit Deus.

Liberality
of king
Richard.
fo. 122 r.

2 Cor. ix. 7.

Hoveden,
391. b. 13.

Eodem mense, multas galeas misit idem rex Angliæ ad Neapolim contra matrem suam Alienor reginam, et contra Berengeram filiam Sancii regis Navaræ, quam rex ducturus erat in uxorem, et contra Philippum comitem Flandriæ. Prædicta vero Alienor regina et filia regis Navaræ, non potuerunt habere licentiam veniendi ad Messanam ab hominibus regis Tancredi, propter multitudinem hominum comitantium; et profectæ sunt usque Brundisium. Et comes Flandriæ galeas intrans venit ad Messanam.

He sends
to meet his
mother and
Berengaria,
at Naples.

Hoveden,
391. b. 31.

¹ Eodem mense Februarii, audiens rex Angliæ exces-

¹ Ralph de Diceto gives (c. 659) two letters of Richard; one lodging the supreme power in the hands of William Marshal, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Hugh Bardolf, and William

Brewer, in case of the unfaithfulness of the chancellor. This letter is given in full by Giraldus Cambrensis (Ang. Sac. ii. 396), and contains an order that nothing is to

A.D. 1191. sus et importunitates quas cancellarius suus faciebat **Hoveden,**
February. in Anglia Johanni comiti Moretonii fratri ejus, et **391. b. 22,**
Richard genti Anglorum, remisit in Angliam Walterum Roto- **shorter.**
sends the magensem archiepiscopum, et Willelmum Mareskallum
of Rouen comitem de Struguil, præcipiens per litteras suas, qued
to England si vera essent quæ ipse audierat de cancellario, depo-
with a new neretur, et Rotomagensis archiepiscopus loco illius
commission. substitueretur, sibi adjunctis sociis Willelmo Marescallo
et Gaufrido filio Petri in regimine regni. Sin autem
falsa essent quæ nunciata erant regi de cancellario,
nihilominus archiepiscopus Rotomagensis et Willelmus
Marescallus et Gaufridus filius Petri in regimine regni
ei associantur. Qui venientes in Angliam litteras **Hoveden,**
regis cancellario tradere ausi non fuerant, scientes quod **391. b. 22.**
novissimus error esset pejor priore.

March 1. Mense Martii, die prima mensis, feria sexta, Ricardus **Hoveden,**
Richard rex Angliæ per consilium regis Franciæ a civitate **391. b. 22.**
goes to Messana recessit ad loquendum cum Tancredo rege
Catania to Siciliæ. Et tertia die sequenti venit rex Angliæ ad
see Tancred. civitatem Cathanensium, ubi requiescit sanctissimum
corpus beatæ Agathæ virginis et martyris.

March 2. Et cum Tancredus rex Siciliæ audisset adventum **Hoveden,**
Tancred illius, exivit obviam illi extra civitatem fere per quin- **391. b. 22.**
meets him. que milliaria: et cum eum longe venientem conspi-
ceret, antequam convenirent descendit uterque illorum;
et currens alter ad alterum, irruerunt in mutuos am-
plexus et salutationes et oscula. Deinde equos ascen-

be done without the assent and counsel of the archbishop of Rouen; and instead of simply giving power to the four commissioners in case of the unfaithfulness of the chancellor, "secundum dispositionem vestram," he says, "secundum prædicti archiepiscopi dispositionem;" so that either Diceto's version is garbled or Giraldus's interpolated; and it would appear that there were at

least three parties, that of the chancellor, that of the co-justiciars, and that of the archbishop of Rouen; to which that of John makes a fourth, and that of Geoffrey a fifth. The second letter, addressed to the chancellor and the above commissioners, merely associates the archbishop of Rouen with the commission. This is dated Messina, Feb. 23. The archbishop landed at Shoreham, April 27.

Hoveden,
381. b. 48.

dentēs ingressi sunt civitatem; et occurrerunt illis clerus et populus cum hymnis et canticis benedicentes Deum. Factaque oratione ad sepulcrum beatæ Agathæ, rex Angliæ ingressus est palatium regis Tancredi; et habitavit ibi per tres dies simul cum illo cum honore qualis decebat regem.

A.D. 1191.
March 3.
Richard
stays with
him three
days.

Hoveden,
381. b. 48.

Quarta die rex Siciliæ dona multa et magna, in vasis aureis et argenteis, in equis et pannis sericis obtulit regi Angliæ: at hujusmodi non indigena, nihil eorum capere voluit præter annulum parvulum quendam, quem in signum mutæ dilectionis accepit. Rex autem Angliæ dedit ei gladium optimum Arcturi, nobilis quondam regis Britonum, quem Britones vocaverunt Caliburnum. Præterea Tancredus dedit regi Angliæ quatuor magnas naves quas vocant *Ufers*,¹ et quindecim galeas.

March 6.
They ex-
change pre-
sents.

fo. 128 v.

Hoveden,
381. b. 54,
differently.

Et cum recessisset in propria persona perduxit eum usque ad *Tavernum*² per duas dietas magnas. Cumque inde recedere vellet, dixit rex Tancredus illi,³ "Nunc scio vere et certis indiciis comprobavi, quod ea quæ rex Franciæ mandavit mihi de vobis per ducem Burgundiæ, et per litteras suas, potius ex invidia processerunt quam ex amore quem erga me haberet. Ipse enim mandavit mihi quod nec pacem nec fidem mihi servastis; et quod conventiones inter nos factas transgressi estis; et quod in regnum istud non venistis nisi ut auferretis a me; sed et si vallem cum exercitu meo super vos venire, ipse auxiliaretur mihi quantum posset, ad vos et exercitum vestrum confundendum."

Tancred
conducts
Richard to
Taormina,
where he
reveals to
him the
treachery of
Philip.

Cui rex Angliæ respondit non minori constantia verbi quam animi, "Confundantur omnes inique agen-

Richard
refuses to
believe it.

¹ *Ufers*] *Ufers*, *Hoveden*.
(*Huisiers*.)

² *Tavernum*] *Tavernim*, *H*.

³ *Hoveden's* account of this con-

versation is given in language almost entirely different from the text, but with very much the same purport.

A.D. 1191. "tes: et ego credere non possum quod hæc manda- Hoveden,
392. a. 2.
March. "verit, cum sit ipse dominus meus et socius conjuratus
Tancred offers to show him the letters of Philip. "in peregrinatione ista." Ad quæ respondens rex Tancredus, "Ut comprobetis me," inquit, "verum
"dicere vobis, ecce trado vobis litteras quas ipse rex
"Franciæ misit mihi per ducem Burgundiæ. Quod
"si dux Burgundiæ negare voluerit, ego eum inde
"comprobabo per unum de ducibus meis, quod veris-
"sime litteras has sigillatas sigillo regis Franciæ mihi
"tradidit."

Philip comes to Taormina. Et cum rex Angliæ litteras accepisset de manu regis Tancredi, venit rex Franciæ usque Tavernum loqui cum rege Tancredo. Hoveden,
392. a. 13.

Richard returns to Messina, and shows that he is offended with Philip. Rex Angliæ per aliam viam reversus est in Messanam. Rex Franciæ fecit moram unius noctis apud regem Tancredum in Tavernum, et in crastino rediit ad Messanam. Rex autem Angliæ in ira commotus adversus eum nec faciem hilarem nec pacem spondentem ei prætendebat, sed opportunitatem quærebat ut cum suis ab eo recederet. Inquirente rege Franciæ diligentius quare hoc esset, mandavit illi rex Angliæ per comitem Flandriæ et per alios familiares suos ea quæ rex Siciliæ dixerat illi de eo: et in testimonium facti litteras quas acceperat de rege Tancredo ostendit. Hoveden,
392. a. 15.

He accuses him of treachery.

Philip denies the charge, and says that Richard merely wants to break his contract with his sister Alais. Quod cum rex Franciæ audisset, male sibi conscius obmutuit, ignorans quid contra hæc responderet. Tandem ad se reversus ait, "Verba hæc ficta sunt, et
"de novo inventa. Scio enim et certus sum quod
"ipse quærit causas malignandi adversum me. Putat-
"ne quod per talia mendacia sororem meam abjiciet,
"quam desponsandam sibi juravit?" Cui rex Angliæ respondit, "Sororem tuam non abjicio: sed illam du-
"cere nequeo in uxorem, quia pater meus cognovit
"eam, generans ex ea filium." Quod cum regi Franciæ constaret per plurimorum assertiones, ipse post multorum tergiversationes verborum, quietum clamavit regem Angliæ a conjugio sororis suæ Alesisæ, receptis Hoveden,
392. a. 20.

Hoveden,
392. a. 32,
longer.

decem millibus marcis argenti ad opus ejusdem mulieris, pro conventione a rege Angliæ; et cum rex Franciæ rediret in Franciam, prædicta soror ejus traderetur illi cum Gisortio et omnibus aliis rebus quæ rex Franciæ eis concesserat in maritaggio. Et rex Franciæ dedit licentiam regi Angliæ quamcunque vellet ducendi in uxorem. Insuper concessit quod dux Britanniæ sit homo regis Angliæ in perpetuum, et hæredum suorum, de Britannia, et quod rex Angliæ et hæredes sui respondeant inde regi Franciæ et hæredibus suis. Et sic in illa die facti sunt amici rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ, et omnes conventiones illas fide et sacramentis sub sigillorum suorum testimonio confirmaverunt.

A.D. 1191.
March.
Pacification
of Richard
and Philip.

fo. 163 r.
Richard
may marry
whom he
will and
have the
homage of
Brittany.

Hoveden,
392. a. 41.

Et eodem mense Martii, tertio kalendas Aprilis, Sabbato, Philippus rex Franciæ recessit a portu Messanæ cum toto navigio suo; et in vicesima secunda die sequenti, scilicet sabbati in hebdomada Paschæ, venit ipse cum exercitu suo ad obsidionem Acræ.

March 30.
Philip sails;
he reaches
Acre, April
20.

Hoveden,
392. a. 46.

Et eodem die quo rex Franciæ a Messana recessit, venit illuc Alienor, mater regis Angliæ, et adduxit secum Berengeram, filiam regis Navaræ, quam rex in uxorem ducturus erat. Et quarta die sequenti prædicta regina Alienor recessit inde versus Angliam,¹ et filia regis Navaræ remansit cum rege Angliæ.

March 30.
Queen
Eleanor
arrives at
Messina,
and leaves,
April 2.

Hoveden,
392. b. 2,
shorter.

Mense Aprilis, quarto idus ejusdem mensis, feria quarta, Clemens papa tertius obiit, et eodem die Jacintus,² natione Romanus et Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalis, electus est in papam per communem cardinalium electionem, et in vigilia Paschæ ordinatus in sacerdotem. Et in ipso die Paschæ statim, quæ xviii^o. kalendas Maii evenit, pontifex Romanus est consecratus, et

April 10.
Death of
Clement III.

Celestine
III. consecrated April
14.

¹ Hoveden here states that Eleanor returned by way of Rome, and carried a message from Richard to the pope to prevent the consecration of Geoffrey elect of York.

² Hyacinth Bobo, cardinal deacon of S. Mary in Cosmedin from 1144 to 1191; pope, as Celestine III., 1191-1198.

A.D. 1191.
April 18.
Coronation
of Henry
VI. vocatus Coelestinus papa Tertius. In crastino autem consecrationis suae, ipse consecravit et coronavit praedictum Henricum regem in Romanum imperatorem, et Constantiam uxorem suam in imperatricem.¹ Hoveden.
892. b. c.

April 19.
Richard
sails from
Messina. Eodem mense Aprilis fregit rex Angliæ castellum quod fecerat in loco qui dicitur Mategriffun, et feria quarta ante Coenam Domini ipse cum toto exercitu suo a portu Messanensi recessit cum centum quinquaginta magnis navibus, et cum quinquaginta tribus galeis: et in die Parasceus venit ventus horribilis circa horam diei nonam ab Austro, et dissipavit navigium ejus. Rex autem cum parte navigii applicuit in insula Cretæ.² Hoveden.
892. a. 16.

April 19.
Great storm
at sea.

Richard
reaches
Crete.

He arrives
at Rhodes,
three of his
ships being
driven to
Cyprus.

Deinde transiit in insulam de Rodes. Tres autem bucinae de navigio suo in tempestate supradicta, venerunt ad insulam de Cyprus, et ante portum Limezun fractae et comminutae perierunt. In quibus milites et servientes de familia regis submersi sunt, inter quos magister Rogerus Malus Catulus, vicecancellarius regis, periit, et sigillum regis in collo illius suspensum reperiabatur. Catalla autem submersorum thesaurisavit sibi Ysaac imperator de Cypra. Et omnes qui nau-

Hoveden.
892. a. 22.

¹ Hoveden here gives his famous story of Celestine kicking the imperial crown from the head of the emperor; with a long account of the dispute between the pope and the Romans about Tusculum. If his account of Eleanor's visit to Rome be true, she must have been there at this very time, and it must have been from one of her retinue that Hoveden picked up the story, which is generally considered apocryphal. The author of the Itinerary does not mention the visit, but states that Eleanor went by barge to Salerno, and thence to Normandy.

² Richard landed in Crete April 17, and re-embarked the next day. On the 22nd he landed in Rhodes, where he stayed ten days, and re-embarked on the 1st of May. Roger Malus Catulus was lost in a storm on the 24th of April. The vessel in which the queens were arrived at Limasol on the 1st of May. Richard landed in Cyprus on the 6th. Itiner. R. R. 177-188. It will be seen that the text, although much compressed, contains an account more nearly resembling that of the Itinerary than does Hoveden's diffuser statement.

Hoveden,
393. a. 52.

fragium evaserunt cepit et incarceravit, et pecunias eorum eis abstulit. Qui etiam plus ferali crudelitate debacchatus, busciam unam vento et fluctibus agitavit, in qua prædicta regina Siciliæ et filia regis Navaræ erant, portum intrare non permisit.

A.D. 1191.
April.
Cruelty of
Isaac of
Cyprus.

Quomodo Ricardus rex Angliæ Cyprum cepit et devicerit

Hoveden,
393. a. 34,
longer.

Quod cum regi Angliæ nunciatum esset, festinanter ad illarum præsidium venit, cum galeis multis et grandi storio navium, et invenit illas extra portum de Limeszun, ventis et mari expositas. Et iratus valde misit nuncios ad imperatorem Cypræ semel, secundo et tertio, petens cum humili deprecatione, postulans peregrinos suos quos imperator vinctos tenebat in carcere, sibi reddi, similiter et catalla eorum. Quibus imperator respondens superbe locutus est, dicens quod nec peregrinos nec catalla eorum dimitteret, et quod non timeret regem Angliæ nec minas ejus.

May.
Richard demands the shipwrecked pilgrims to 1193 v. from the emperor of Cyprus. He refuses.

Hoveden,
393. a. 46,
longer.

Tunc ait rex universo exercitui suo, "Armata vos et sequimini me; et vindicemus injurias quas per fidus iste et Deo et nobis fecit, opprimens innocentes quos nobis reddere recusat, 'sed et arma tenenti' 'omnia dat qui justa negat,' certamque in Domino habeo fiduciam quod Ipse nobis hodie dabit victoriam de isto imperatore et gente ejus."

Richard exhorts his followers.

Lucan,
Phars. l. 548.

Interim imperator ille occupaverat littora maris undique cum gente sua, et multi eorum erant armati, sed plures inermes. Cum autem rex Angliæ et sui armati essent, exierunt de magnis navibus, et intrantes in galeas et naviculas suas, cum impetu venerunt ad terram. Rex autem præibat cum sagittariis suis, et cæteri omnes sequebantur; et cum applicuissent impetum fecerunt unanimiter in imperatorem et Griffones

Battle at Limasol before the Crusaders effect a landing.

Hoveden,
393. a. 52,
longer.

A.D. 1191.
May 6.
The Crusaders are victorious and seize Limasol.

suos; et quasi imber super gramina ceciderunt sagittæ super pugnantes. Et cum diu pugnassent, imperator post multorum suorum interfectionem in fugam conversus est, et omnis exercitus ejus cum eo. Quos magnificus triumphator rex Angliæ [secutus], stragem maximam ex obstantibus fecit, et nisi nox celerius supervenisset, rex illo die imperatorem cepisset vel vivum vel mortuum. Sed quia rex et sui ignorabant vias et semitas montium per quas imperator et sui fugerunt, noluerunt illos amplius sequi; sed cum præda magna hominum et animalium redeuntes venerunt ad villam de Limezun, quam Grifones et Herminii vacuam reliquerunt fugientes.

Hoveden, 393. b. 4.

Queen Johanna and Berengaria of Navarre land.

Eodem die¹ filia regis Navarræ, et regina Siciliæ soror regis Angliæ, intraverunt portum de Limezun cum navigio regis. Imperator vero religatis sibi hominibus suis qui dispersi erant per dumos in convallibus, eadem nocte castra sua metatus est super fluvium, quasi per quinque milliaria a villa de Limezun; sub juramento affirmans quod in crastino dimicaret cum rege Angliæ. Quod cum rex audiret per exploratores suos, longe ante diem,² se et exercitum suum armari fecit, et sine tumultu procedens, accessit ad exercitum imperatoris, et invenit eos dormientes. Et cum magna et horribili exclamatione intravit tentoria eorum, et excitati a somno facti sunt velut mortui, nescientes quid facerent aut quo fugerent. Ipse autem imperator cum paucis nudus evasit, relinquens post se thesauros, et equos, et arma, et tentoria sua pulcherrima, et vexillum imperiale per totum auro contextum, quod rex Angliæ statim destinavit beato Edmundo regi glorioso et martyri.

Hoveden, 393. b. 10.

Richard surprises the emperor and routs his forces.

fo. 164^{re}.

May 9.
The Cypriots submit.

In crastino multi comites et barones regni venerunt ad regem Angliæ, et homines sui devenerunt, et jura-

Hoveden, 393. b. 24.

¹ May 6. Itin. R. R. 191.

² May 7, "die crastino." Itin. R. R. 192.

Hoveden,
393. b. 27.

verunt¹ ei fidelitatem contra imperatorem et omnes homines; et dederunt ei inde obsides. Tertia¹ autem die sequenti Guido rex Jerosolimitanus, et Gaufridus de Lezinant frater ejus, et Anfridus de Turun,² et Raimundus³ princeps Antiochiæ, et Boimundus⁴ filius ejus comes Tripolis, et Leo⁵ frater Rupini de la Montaine, venerunt in insulam de Cypre ad regem Angliæ, et ibi homines sui devenerunt, et fidelitates ei iuraverunt contra omnes homines.

A.D. 1191.
May 11.
Arrival of
the Frank
princes from
Palestine.

Hoveden,
393. b. 28.

Eodem die, cum imperator de Cypris vidisset se omni virtute et auxilio suorum destitui, supplices legationes misit ad regem Angliæ, et obtulit ei pacem in hac forma, scilicet quod ipse daret ei viginti millia marcarum auri in recompensatione pecuniæ submersorum; et illos qui naufragium evaserunt liberos cum catallis suis redderet; et ipse in propria persona sua cum illo in terram Suriæ iret, et quamdiu rex ibi fuerit moram ibidem faceret in servitio Dei cum centum militibus et quadringentis Turcoplis equitibus, et cum quingentis servientibus peditibus: et insuper daret ei filiam suam quam unicam habebat hæredem ad maritandam cui voluerit cum imperio suo; et quod fidelitatem ei juraret, et regnum suum de illo teneret; et super pacto illo firmiter observando traderet ei castella regni sui in pignore.

Isaac Comnenus asks
for terms of
peace.

Hoveden,
393. b. 27.

His itaque ex utraque parte concessis, venit imperator ad regem Angliæ et coram rege Jerosolimitano, et principe Antiochiæ et aliis magnatibus qui aderant,

Submission
of Isaac.

¹ "Sabbato sequenti." Itinerar. R. R. 195, that is, May 11.

² *Anfridus*] Henfrid III. of Toron, the first husband of queen Isabella.

³ *Raimundus*] Properly Bohe-mond III., prince of Antioch.

⁴ *Boimundus*] Properly Raymond III., count of Tripoli, son of Bohe-mond III. of Antioch.

⁵ Leo was probably a cousin of

Rupin, prince of Armenia, whom he succeeded. He became king in 1197. The whole party represented the nobility opposed to Conrad of Montferrat, who had cheated Guy of his kingdom and Henfrid of his wife. Henfrid was brother-in-law of Rupin of Armenia, who again was father-in-law of Raymond of Tripoli.

A.D. 1191. et coram principibus totius imperii, juravit fidelitatem **Hoveden,**
May. regi Angliæ et hæredibus suis, sicut ligiis dominis **333. b. 29.**
He does suis, contra omnes homines, et quod omnem supra-
homage to dictam conventionem, firmiter et inconcusse, bona fide
Richard. et sine malo ingenio, illi bonam servaret.

He changes Eodem die post prandium, cum esset imperator in **Hoveden,**
his mind tentorio suo, et milites regis quibus ille traditus fuerat **333. b. 42.**
and takes to ad custodiendum, meridianum somnum dormissent,
flight, defy-
ing Richard.

furtim ab eis recessit, poenitens se pacem supradictam
 fecisse cum rege Angliæ. Mandavitque regi quod
 nullam pacem nec conventionem illi servaret; quod,
 ut videbatur, plurimum placuit regi. Ipse enim, ut
 vir circumspectus et prudens, statim tradidit magnam
 exercitus sui partem Guidoni regi de Jerusalem, et
 cæteris principibus, dicens eis, "Sequimini, et compre-
Richard hendite illum si potestis; ego autem circuibo insu-
prepares to lam de Cypre cum galeis meis, et ponam custodes
pursue him. " meos per circuitum insulæ, ne perjurus ille manus
 " meas evadat."

Richard and Dixit et fecit ita, et divisit galeas in duas partes, **Hoveden,**
Robert quarum tradidit unam partem Roberto de Turnham, **333. b. 43.**
Tornham alia sibi parte retenta. Intransesque galeas ipse ex
sail round
Cyprus.

fo. 164 v. una parte et Robertus ex altera circuierunt totam
 insulam Cypriæ; et omnes naves et galeas quas per
 circuitum invenerunt, ceperunt. Et cum Grifones et
 Herminii, quibus civitates et castella imperatoris et
 munitiones tradita fuerant ad custodiendum, vidis-
 sent tot armatos viros et galeas venientes, reliquerunt
 ea sine custode, et fugerunt in montana. Rex autem
 et Robertus omnia ceperunt castella et civitates et
 portus quotquot vacua invenerunt, et munientes ea viris
 et armis et victu et galeis, redierunt ad Limesun.
 Rex autem Jerosolimitanus et qui cum illo erant,
 parum adhuc proficere poterant in expeditione sua.

May 12. Mense autem Maii, quarto idus ejusdem mensis, **Hoveden,**
Marriage of Dominica die, festo sanctorum Nerei, Achillei atque **334. a. 2.**
Richard and Pancratii, Ricardus rex Angliæ desponsavit sibi Beren-
Berengaria,
who is

Hoveden, 394. a. 16.
geram filiam regis Navaræ, Nicholao¹ capellano suo officium sacramenti hujus perficiente. Et eodem die fecit illam coronari in reginam Angliæ in villa de Limeszun a Johanne Ebroicensi episcopo, coram archiepiscopis de Appamia et de Auxia, et coram episcopo de Baonia et aliis multis.

A.D. 1191.
May 12.
crowned by
the bishop
of Evreux.

Hoveden, 394. a. 16, longer.
Deinde rex Angliæ cum audisset quod filia imperatoris esset in castello fortissimo quod dicitur Cherin, venit illuc cum exercitu suo, et cum appropinquasset castello illi, filia imperatoris venit ei obviam, et proci-dens adoravit eum, tradens se et castellum in misericordia ejus. Deinde redditum est illi castellum fortissimum quod dicitur Buffevent. Postea traditæ sunt illi omnes civitates et munitiones imperii.

Richard
takes Cherin
and Buffevent.

Hoveden, 394. a. 22.
Infelix ille imperator latitabat in quadam abbatis fortissima quæ dicitur Caput Sancti Andree. Qui cum audisset adventum regis exivit ei obviam, provolutusque ad pedes regis posuit se in misericordia regis de vita et membris, nulla mentione facta de regno. Sciebat enim quod jam omnia essent in manu regis et potestate. Sed hoc solum petiit a rege ne permitteret eum mitti compedibus et manicis ferreis. Audivit rex petitionem ejus, et tradidit illum Radulfo filio Godofridi, camerario suo, custodiendum; præcipiens compedes et manicas fieri de auro et argento ad opus illius, in quibus præcepit illum mitti. Peracta sunt autem hæc in insula de Cypra, mense Junii, die mensis prima,² in vigilia Pentecosten.

The emperor, who had fled to Capo S. Andrea, surrenders at discretion.

He is imprisoned in silver and golden chains, June 1.

Hoveden, 394. a. 31.
Et præordinatis omnibus ad securitatem regis imperii, et custodibus per civitates et castella constitutis, rex tradidit imperium de Cypra Ricardo de Camvilla et Roberto de Tornham ad custodiendum.

June 1. - Richard de Camville and Robert Tornham put in charge of Cyprus.

Hoveden, 394. a. 32.
Eodem die Berengera regina Angliæ, et regina Siciliæ

¹ Nicolas, afterwards bishop of Le Mans, 1214-1216. | render a day earlier, Friday, May 31, p. 203.

² The Itinerarium places the sur-

A.D. 1191. soror regis, et filia imperatoris de Cypra, venerunt ad Hoveden,
June 1. obsidionem de Acra, cum maiore parte navigii regis. 394. a. 36.
The queens arrive at Acra. Et eodem die obiit Philippus comes Flandriæ in Hoveden,
Death of the count of Flanders. obsidione Acræ. 394. a. 33.

June 5. Rex vero Angliæ quarta feria hebdomadæ Pentecosten discessit ab insula Cypræ cum galeis suis, ducens Hoveden,
Richard sails from Cyprus. secum regem Jerusalem et principem Antiochiæ et comitem Tripolis, et cæteros principes qui ad eum venerant in insula Cypræ: et misit Radulfum filium 394. a. 41, shorter.
fo. 165 r. Godefridi cum imperatore Cypræ ad Tripolim.

He restores the laws of Manuel Comnenus. Sane antequam rex discesserat ab Cypra comites et barones et omnes homines insulæ dederunt medietatem omnium quæ possidebant regi pro legibus et institutis quæ habebant tempore Manuelis imperatoris Constantinopolitani; et concessit eis rex, et carta sua confirmavit. Hoveden, 394. a. 39.

June 6. Et in crastino recessus sui ab insula de Cypre, venit Hoveden,
He is refused admission into Tyre. rex ad civitatem Tyri, at custodes civitatis noluerunt 394. a. 42.
eum intus recipere, dicentes quod sic prohibitum erat eis a rege Franciæ, et a Conrado domino civitatis ejusdem; et rex Angliæ jacuit illa nocte extra civitatem in tentoriis suis.

June 7. Inde in crastino, scilicet feria sexta in hebdomada Pentecosten, cum rex iter ageret versus Acram, vidit Hoveden,
On the way to Acra he encounters a great ship of the Saracens. a longe in mari buciam quandam magnam onustam paganis multis, et ornatam vexillis regis Franciæ. 394. a. 45.
Mittensque ad eos rex quæsivit qui essent, et unde venissent, et quo irent. Qui responderunt se esse Christianos de familia regis Franciæ, et venisse de Antiochia cum victu et armis regis Franciæ; ad Acram ire velle. Sed nuncii regis Angliæ neminem illorum cognoverunt.

The Saracens pretend to belong to king Philip. Richard disbelieves. Et cum redissent ad regem et visa narraverunt, Hoveden, 394. a. 51.
rex respondit, "Certe mentiti sunt in caput suum; talem buciam non habet rex Franciæ; et si de familia regis Franciæ sunt, dicite eis ut exspectent et loquantur mecum." Et antequam nuncii regis

Hoveden,
394. a. 53.

iterum venissent ad eos, pagani omnes qui in bucia erant, armaverunt se, et pessime receperunt nuncios, mittentes in eos sagittas et ignem Græcum.

A.D. 1191.
June 7.
The Saracens attack.

Hoveden,
394. a. 54.

Quod videns rex, dixit omnibus qui secum erant, "Ite et persequimini eos et comprehendite; sed si abierint, amorem meum in perpetuum perdetis; et si eos comprehenderitis, dabo vobis quicquid petieritis, et insuper catalla eorum vestra sunt." His dictis ipse et omnes unanimiter impetum fecerunt in buciam, et cum rostris galearum undique eam perforaverunt; aqua vero intrans per foramina, traxit illam in profundum. Et cum cepissent mergi, pagani projecerunt arma sua in mare; et fractis vasis fuderunt ignem Græcum quem portabant; relictaque nave nudi prosliebant in mare. Galiotæ autem interfecerunt eos, quibusdam tamen illorum reservatis vivis. Æstimabantur autem pagani qui erant in bucia illa numero mille quingenti, quos Saladinus elegerat de omnibus paganis suis, ut mitteret eos in civitatem Acræ. Quibus devictis et interfectis, rex distribuit omnia catalla eorum suis galiotis.

Richard orders his galleys to charge the Saracen ship.

They sink it and take many prisoners.

Hoveden,
394. b. 2.

In crastino, scilicet die Sabbati in Pentecosten, venit ad obsidionem Acræ; et paganos quos retinuit de navi distribuit regi Franciæ, et comitibus exercitus. Cum autem pagani qui in civitate erant audissent, quod pagani qui in bucia erant, in quibus habebant fiduciam, submersi essent, et quod rex Angliæ magnificus triumphator ad obsidionem venisset, timuerunt valde, et de die in diem opportunitatem quærebant, ut traderent ei civitatem pro licentia abeundi cum vita et membris.

June 8.
Richard arrives at Acre.

The besieged lose heart.

Hoveden,
394. b. 12.

Rex vero Franciæ, qui sabbato in hebdomada Paschæ ad obsidionem venerat, jam ante adventum regis Angliæ perrarias, et hurdicios et alias machinas suas bellicas paraverat, et in locis congruis collocaverat, sed nihil in eis operatus est; expectabat enim adventum regis Angliæ. Qui cum venisset, statim erexit

Philip has been engaged since April 20 in preparing engines.
fo. 106 v.

A.D. 1191. machinas bellicas, perarias suas et luridicior parari Hoveden,
394. b. 19.
June. fecit.

Richard
accepts the
services of
the Pisani,
and rejects
the Genoese.

Pisani vero et Januenses venerunt ad eum et obtulerunt ei servitia sua. Recepit autem Pisanos, Januensibus refutatis, quia ipsi fidelitatem fecerant regi Franciæ et Cunrado Marchioni. Pisani fecerunt regi Angliæ homagium, et fidelitatem juraverunt; et rex concessit eis omnes libertates et consuetudines quas habere solebant in terra Jerosolimitana, et carta sua confirmavit.

Hoveden,
394. b. 19.

June 10.
The French
engines
burnt.

Tertia autem die post adventum regis Angliæ, rex Franciæ dimisit omnes servientes suos; et rex Angliæ omnes retinuit ad custodiendum machinas suas die ac nocte. Unde factum est ut pagani qui erant in civitate, invenientes machinas regis Franciæ sine custode, combusserunt eas.

Hoveden,
394. b. 24.

The two
kings fall ill,
but the
siege pro-
ceeds.

Et paulo post adventum regis Angliæ, statim uterque regum Angliæ et Franciæ, in infirmitatem quæ dicitur Arnaldia inciderunt, in qua fere usque ad mortem laborantes capillos suos deposuerunt. Nec tamen machinæ bellicæ cessabant lapides mittere die et nocte, super turres et muros civitatis.

Hoveden,
394. b. 28.

Recovery of
the kings.

Per misericordiam Dei, uterque regum convaluit de ægitudine illa, facti robustiores et animosiores in Dei servitio.

Hoveden,
394. b. 29.

Quarrel of
Guy of Lu-
signan and
Conrad of
Montferrat.

Et quia Guido rex Jerusalem conquestus erat eis, quod Conradus marchio vi et injuste abstulit ei redditus et jura regni; tradiderunt redditus fori, et rerum venalium, et redditus portus Acræ, in manus Templariorum et Hospitalariorum, colligendos et custodiendos, donec provisum esset quis illorum de jure illos habere deberet. Et Gaufridus de Lezinan, frater regis de Jerusalem, appellavit in curia regum Conradum marchionem, de fide læsa, et perjurio et proditione facta contra regem fratrem suum, et adversum totum exercitum Christianorum; et de prosequenda appellatione pignus dedit. Conradus vero male sibi conscius,

Hoveden,
394. b. 31.

Geoffrey of
Lusignan
appeals
Conrad.
Conrad
flies to Tyre.

- Hoveden, 394. b. 38. nolens juri stare, declinavit a turba, exivit foras, omnibus clamantibus post illum et dicentibus, "Proditor est ille, qui juri stare recusat." Nemo tamen misit in illum A.D. 1191.
June.
Jealousy of
Richard and
Philip.
8. Mark xiv. 2. manus ne forte tumultus fieret in populo. Ipse autem Tyrum abiit. Rex Angliæ partem regis Jerusalem fovebat, et rex Franciæ partem Conradi fovebat; immo inter eos sæpius oriebantur rixæ et contentiones.
- Hoveden, 394. b. 43. Post multum vero temporis, rex Franciæ misit pro Conrado, qui ad eum veniens, constituit eum sibi familiarem et consiliarium, per cujus consilium multa operatus est, unde dedecus et damnum et detrimentum animæ suæ in multis perpessus est. Philip takes
Conrad for
his adviser.
- Hoveden, 394. b. 47, shorter. In primis enim per consilium ejus rex Franciæ petiit a rege Angliæ medietatem totius insulæ Cypræ, cum medietate omnium quæ in illa cepit, ex conventionione facta inter eos apud Messanam. Convenit enim inter eos, quod dimidiarent inter se omnia quæ perquirent in terra Jerosolimitana, quamdiu essent in illa peregrinatione. Cui respondit, "Si dederis mihi medietatem Flandriæ, et cæterorum quæ adquisisti post mortem comitis Flandriæ, et per mortem castelli de Sancto Odmero, qui in obsidione Acræ mortui sunt; et ego dabo tibi medietatem totius acquisitionis meæ; licet conventio facta fuerit inter nos de acquisitionibus nostris in terra Jerosolimitana tantummodo:" et sic alterutro remiserunt petitiones suas, et conventiones [quas] apud Messanam fecerunt de acquisitionibus eorum in terra Jerusalem dimittendis, iterum scriptis et testimoniis confirmaverunt: statueruntque Templarios et Hospitalarios, et alios viros sapientes in quibus confidebant, ad recipiendum et dimidiandum inter eos acquisitiones suas. Philip de-
mands half
of Cyprus,
and Richard
to. 168 r.
demands
half of
Flanders.
- Hoveden, 396. a. 1. Interim, Saladinus princeps exercitus paganorum misit frequenter nuncios ad reges Franciæ et Angliæ, cum pyris Damascenis et aliis diversorum fructuum generibus, et ipsi remiserunt ei de jocosis suis; nihilo minus reges insultum faciebant in civitatem per diver-
- The division
of the spoil
entrusted to
the military
orders.
Saladin
sends pre-
sents to the
kings.

A.D. 1191. sas machinas, et per fossores, die et nocte muros sub-
June. fodientes.

June 23.
Eclipse of
the sun.

In eodem mense Junii, die Dominica, vigilia Sancti Hoveden,
206. a. 13.
Johannis Baptistæ Nativitatis, nono kalendas Julii,
hora diei quasi nona, sol eclipsim passus est; et dura-
vit per tres horas; et obscuratus est Sol, et tenebræ
factæ sunt super terram, et stellæ apparuerunt in
cælo. Et cum eclipsis recessisset, rediit sol in decorem
splendoris sui.

The Cru-
saders have
an unknown
friend in
Acre.

In civitate Acræ erat quidam homo Deo devotus, Hoveden,
206. a. 17.
occultus tamen propter metum paganorum, qui fre-
quenter litteras suas foras misit in trahendo per sa-
gittas, usque ad exercitum Christianorum, mandans eis
statum civitatis et paganorum propositum: unde Chris-
tiani sæpius præmuniti paganorum vitabant sæpius
insidias. Ipse enim semper in mandatis suis impone-
bat "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti."
Nullus quidem Christianorum novit eum vel ante vel
post civitatis captionem.

The Crusa-
ders fill up
part of the
trench and
the besieged
offer to
submit.

Eodem mense Junii, Christiani magnam partem Hoveden,
206. a. 20.
fossati impleverunt; quod cum pagani qui erant in
civitate vidissent, obtulerunt regibus Christianorum
civitatem Acræ, cum armis et victualibus eorum, si
dimiserint eos cum vita et membris abire: sed nolue-
runt reges recipere petitiones eorum

Robertus de Tornham.

Death of
Richard de
Camville.

Eodem mense Junii Ricardus de Camvilla, quem Hoveden,
206. a. 23.
rex unum de justitiariis constituerat in Cypra, infir-
mabatur, et sine licentia regis venit ad obsidionem

A revolt of
the Cypriots
put down
by Robert
Tornham.

Acræ, et ibi mortuus est. Quo defuncto Grifones et
Herminii qui ad pacem regis nondum venerant, con-
stituerunt sibi novum imperatorem quendam mona-
chum, consanguineum Ysaac imperatoris. Et Robertus
de Tornham, qui solus remansit justitiarius regis in
Cypra, congregato magno exercitu, prælium commisit

- Hoveden, 385. a. 39. cum illo novo imperatore, et illum et gentem suam A.D. 1191. June. fo. 166 v.
vieit, et cepit et suspendit in patibulo.
- Hoveden, 385. a. 40. Eodem mense obiit Radulfus filius Godefridi, custos imperatoris de Cypria,¹ quo defuncto rex imperatorem commisit Warnero de Naplis² summo magistro Hospitalis ad custodiendum. Death of Ralph Fitz Godfrey.
- Hoveden, 385. a. 43. Eodem mense fossores regis Angliæ fundamentum murorum civitatis suffoderunt, et lignis subpositis, ignem apposuerunt; et cecidit pars maxima murorum civitatis. Perariæ regis Franciæ et Templariorum et Pisanorum fecerunt foramina magna in muro juxta Turrem Maledictam; et convenerunt illuc homines regis Franciæ, insultum facientes in paganos; sed quia via ardua erat et stricta, multi de hominibus regis Franciæ ibi interfecti sunt. Rex Angliæ et homines sui interim custodiebant exteriora fossata, quæ erant inter exercitum Saladini et exercitum Christianorum. Attack on the Cursed Tower.
- Hoveden, 385. a. 51, longer. Conventio enim facta fuit inter reges, ut quando insultum faceret unus in civitatem, alter custodiret fossata propter incursus paganorum.
- Hoveden, 385. b. 2. Mense Julii, tertia die mensis, feria quarta, cecidit pars magna murorum civitatis Acræ, juxta Turrem Maledictam, et multi de familia regis Franciæ cum Alberico³ marchalco illius, et cum copiosa armatorum multitudine, cucurrerunt ad murum, et appositis scalis ascenderunt. Et cum intrassent venerunt obviam illis pagani in manu forti, viriliterque resistentes eis eos retroire coegerunt; ibique Albericus Clement interfectus est cum multis aliis. Conradus autem marchio ibi viliter et ignominiose se retraxit; cum enim alios a morte posset liberare, nullum præstitit auxilium. Pagani vero, qui July 3. Fall of the wall near the Cursed Tower.
Glorious death of Alberic Clement, and cowardice of Conrad.

¹ "et sepultus est apud Tripolim." Hoveden.

² Garnier of Nablous. Hoveden omits the name of the Grand Master, but adds that the Hospitallers kept the emperor at Margat.

³ Alberic Clement of Metz (Itin. R. R. 223), marshal of the king of France, son of Robert Clement, who had been left by Lewis VII. as chief counsellor to Philip. See above, vol. i. p. 246.

A.D. 1191. July 2. Treachery of Conrad. ad murorum defensionem stabant, nec in eum, nec in suos vel lapidem miserunt; sed vexillum ejus, quod ipse illis in signum fœderis dederat, in sublime, cunctis videntibus et multum admirantibus, tenuerunt. Hoveden, 395. b. 19.

July 4. Proposals of surrender. In crastino Mestoch et Karracois, principes paganorum qui erant in civitate Acræ, venerunt ad reges Franciæ et Angliæ, et iterum obtulerunt eis civitatem Acræ, et arma sua, et totum aurum et argentum quod in civitate habebant ipsi et alii pagani, pro licentia abundi cum vita et membris: et noluerunt reges recipere; sed exigebant ab eis totam terram quam Saladinus et cæteri pagani abstulerunt Christianis, ab eo tempore quo Lodowicus rex, pater Philippi regis Franciæ, fuit in terra Jerosolimitana; et Crucem Sanctam et Christianos captivos quos Saladinus et homines sui tunc habebant. Pagani vero, scientes se nihil horum posse facere sine voluntate Saladini, datis obsidibus de redeundo, perrexerunt ad Saladinum. Cui ostendentes regum petitiones, nihil efficere potuerunt de his, nec ullam pro illis redemptionem dare concessit. Confusi itaque reversi sunt ad civitatem Acræ, et ingressi sunt. Hoveden, 395. b. 12.

Saladin refuses to accept the terms. de redeundo, perrexerunt ad Saladinum. Cui ostendentes regum petitiones, nihil efficere potuerunt de his, nec ullam pro illis redemptionem dare concessit. Confusi itaque reversi sunt ad civitatem Acræ, et ingressi sunt. Hoveden, 395. b. 19, longer.

Saladin attacks the camp, but is obliged to retire. Nocte sequenti, circa horam noctis mediam, exercitus Saladini insultum fecit in custodes fossarum exteriorum, ut [dum] Christiani intenderent defensionem fossarum, pagani qui in civitate erant facilius evadere possent per fugam. Sed reges inde præmuniti, per mandatum supradicti viri qui erat in civitate, custodes per circuitum murorum posuerunt, ita quod nulli securus patebat egressus. Factus est ergo clamor per exercitum Christianorum, qui a somno excitati et arma velocius sumentes, accesserunt ad fossata et impetum fecerunt in paganos, et multos ex illis interfecerunt: pagani autem in fugam conversi sunt. Hoveden, 395. b. 25.

fo. 167 re. mandatum supradicti viri qui erat in civitate, custodes per circuitum murorum posuerunt, ita quod nulli securus patebat egressus. Factus est ergo clamor per exercitum Christianorum, qui a somno excitati et arma velocius sumentes, accesserunt ad fossata et impetum fecerunt in paganos, et multos ex illis interfecerunt: pagani autem in fugam conversi sunt.

July 5. A great breach made. Quinta die mensis Julii, feria sexta, iterum appositus est ignis incisioni murorum, quam homines regis Angliæ fecerant; et nocte sequenti ceciderunt turres et muri, et fecerunt introitum magnum. Hoveden, 395. b. 33.

Hoveden,
386. b. 35.

Et in crastino, scilicet sexta die mensis Julii, rex Angliæ et exercitus ejus armati accesserunt ut insultum facerent in civitatem. Pagani vero, qui intus erant, fecerunt signum quod vellent loqui cum regibus de pace inter se facienda. Data illis licentia, rex et sui deposuere arma. Tunc Mestoch,¹ et Carracois,² et Helse-din Jordic venerunt iterum ad loquendum cum regibus. Et cum diu tractassent de pace facienda, acceperunt licentiam loqui cum Saladino, et datis obsidibus quod redirent, abierunt.

A.D. 1191.
July 6.
The Saracens propose a parley

They send to Saladin for directions.

Et cum ad Saladinum venissent, ipsi et filii et nepotes et amici eorum qui erant in exercitu Saladini, deprecabantur eum ut illos a morte liberaret. Dicebant enim nullo modo se posse ulterius civitatem defendere, quia muri et turres jam ceciderant, et quia plusquam tertia pars hominum civitatis interfecta, et ad necem vulnerata erat. Quibus Saladinus respondit, "Si reges Franciæ et Angliæ voluerint mecum ire ad debellandum dominum Muscæ³ fratrem Noradini, et Sanguini filium ejusdem Noradini, filii Sanguini de Halapa, qui totam terram meam, quæ est ultra

Saladin offers to make an alliance with the Crusaders.

¹ Mestoch] Seifeddin-al-Mesch-toub. Bohadin, 174.

² Carracois] Bohaeddin-Karakoush. Bohadin, 174.

³ The lord of Mosul at this time was Eszeddin Masoud, the fourth Atabek of Irak, 1181-1193, son of Kothbeddin Modoud, the brother of the Great Noureddin Zenghi; and he is doubtless the person described in the text as the lord of Musce, and as the brother of Noureddin Zenghi. But Eszeddin was not now at war with Saladin. On the contrary, his son Aladdin was present with the Mosul contingent in Saladin's army (Bohadin 170), as were his brother Amadoddin Zenghi, lord of Sinjar (Boh. 148),

and his nephew Moessodin, lord of Mesopotamia. Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, iv. 358, identifies the lord of Musce with Kothbeddin Sokman, the son of Noureddin, the son of Kara Arslan, lord of Diarbekr, and states that he was at war with Takieddin Omar, the lord of Hamah, Saladin's nephew. It would almost seem as if our author had confounded the two; for it is clear that he connected the rebellion with Saladin's treatment of the house of Noureddin Zenghi, to which Noureddin the son of Kara Arslan did not belong. See D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, s. v. Atabek, Kara Arslan; and the *Modern Universal History*, ii. 9, 10, 11, &c.

A.D. 1191.
July 6.
Terms pro-
posed by
Saladin.

" Eufратem ceperunt, devicto et expulso Thekedino
" avunculo meo; et si voluerint in meo servitio per
" unum annum demorari; et clamare mihi quietam in
" perpetuum. Escalon, et Le Cragh, et Mun Rael, quod
" est ultra fluvium Jordanis; ego reddam eis civita-
" tem Jerusalem, et Crucem Sanctam, et omnes terras
" et civitates et castella et munitiones quas ego et
" mei cepimus post captionem Guidonis regis, et etiam
" ante captionem per quinquennium. Et si reges illi
" nec volunt nec possunt mecum ire; tradant mihi de
" exercitu suo duo millia militum et quinque millia
" servientium equitum bene armatorum ad serviendum
" mihi per unum annum; ego omnia supradicta eis
" reddam, et militibus et servientibus stipendia bona
" dabo, et tam magna qualia nunquam eis data fue-
" rant; scilicet unicuique militi quadraginta sex
" Bisantios per mensem, et unicuique servienti sede-
" qim Bisantios per mensem. Et si quis illorum in-
" terfectus fuerit in servitio meo, reddam militem pro
" milite, servientem pro serviente. Et si quis illorum
" captus fuerit in servitio meo, ego illum redimam."¹
His dictis, Mestoch et Karracois, et Hessedin et²
Jordich tristes et confusi ingressi sunt Acram. Filii
vero illorum et nepotes recesserunt a Saladino, man-
dantes ei quod nisi celeriter liberasset prædictos cus-
todes civitatis ipsi inimici ejus fierent.

July 7.
Assault by
the French
on the
Curved
Tower un-
successful.
fo. 167 v°.

Septima die mensis Julii, Dominica die, rex Fran-
ciæ et exercitus ejus insultum fecerunt in civitatem
Acrae juxta Turrin Maledictam, in loco quo prius
fecerant; sed nihil profecerunt, quadraginta de suis
hominibus ibi interfectis.

Hoveden,
395. b. 40,
shorter.

Erat enim via arcta et ardua, et strictus introitus,
et multi paganorum ad defensionem illam convene-

¹ Hoveden only gives a short
abstract of this speech.

² et] Hessedin and Jordich were
the same person. Bohadin, 148.

rant qui cæteros introire coegerunt. Rex Angliæ et sui interim erant ad fossatorum defensionem. A.D. 1191.

Hoveden,
396. b. 32.

Octava die mensis Julii, Saladinus combussit turrem et villam de Chaifas, et omnes vineas in circuitu ejus destruxit. July 1. Saladin dismantles Haifa.

Visio de Sancta Maria.

Hoveden,
396. b. 32.

In nocte sequenti, dum milites et servientes de exercitu Christianorum custodirent vigilias noctis ante Turrem Maledictam propter paganos; circa horam noctis mediam apparuit illis quædam mulier speciosissima, cujus pulchritudo solis radium vincebat in splendore sui. Præ timore autem exterriti sunt custodes, et facti sunt velut mortui. Illa autem confortabat eos, dicens "Nolite timere! Ego sum Maria, Mater Domini nostri Jesu Christi: et Ipse misit me ad vos, ut dicatis regibus quod cessent a prostratione murorum; et quarto die post istum dabit Dominus eis civitatem hanc." Eadem nocte dum beata mater Domini tam blande consolaretur Christianos, terræ motus magnus et horribilis venit in civitate, ita quod timor magnus apprehendit paganos qui intus erant; adeo quod maluerunt mori quam vivere.¹ His dictis beata Virgo ascendit in cælum, et nubes lucida suscepit eam ab oculis eorum. Facto mane custodes ipsi regibus et principibus exercitus visionem, et ea quæ audierant ex ore Beatæ Virginis Matris Domini Mariæ, retulerunt. Hisque per exercitum cognitis, facta lætitia magna in populo Christiano.

Vision of the blessed Virgin, promising that the city shall be taken on the fourth day.

S. Matt.
xxviii. 4.

Hoveden,
396. a. 12.

Nono et decimo² die mensis Julii, Saladinus fecit exstirpari omnes vineas et arbores fructiferas quæ erant in circuitu Acræ, et cæterarum civitatum et cas- July 9 & 10. Saladin cuts down the fruit trees about Acre.

¹ "Sic Dominus cum ad judicium
"venerit blandus justis et terribilis
"apparebit injustis." Ina. Hoveden.

² Nono et decimo] Nonodecimo,
B.

A.D. 1191. tellorum quæ debilia erant; et civitates ipsas et cas- Hoveden,
396. a. 13.
July 10. tella in quibus resistendi Christianis fiduciam non
Saladin dis- habuit, penitus destruxit.
mantles some of his
metles.

July 11. Undecima die mensis Julii, Pisani et exercitus regis Hoveden,
396. a. 14,
shorter.
The Pisans and English make an assault.
Angliæ insultum fecerunt in civitatem Acræ, in illa
parte ubi perarise regis Angliæ foramen magnum fece-
rant. Cum autem ascendissent murum, pagani qui ad
defensionem muri erant, Pisanum unum nomine Leo-
nardum peremerunt; datoque signo quod civitatem
redderent, et pacem ad voluntatem regum Christiano-
rum facerent, Christiani deposuerunt arma, et pagani
de civitate venerunt loqui cum regibus, et postea
reversi sunt in civitatem.

The Saracens propose a parley.

July 12. Duodecima die mensis Julii, feria sexta, Philippus Hoveden,
396. a. 20.
The kings agree to make terms with the besieged.
rex Franciæ, et Ricardus rex Angliæ et omnes prin-
cipes exercitus Christianorum, tam clerici quam laici,
mane convenerunt ad tentoria Templariorum, et prin-
cipes pariter paganorum qui erant in civitate cum illis;
et per consilium totius exercitus, prædicti reges pacem
fecerunt cum paganis illis in hac forma.

Terms of fo. 168 r. " Pagani tradiderunt prædictis regibus civitatem Hoveden,
396. a. 24.
surrender of Acræ. " Acræ, cum auro et argento, et armis, et navibus, et
" galeis, et victualibus, quæ in ea erant; et trecentos¹
" Christianos captivos qui erant in ea. Et conventio-
"naverunt eis, quod ipsi redderent Crucem Sanctam
" illis et mille quingentos² Christianos captivos; et
" ducentos milites Christianos captivos, quales reges
" elegerint, liberarent a captivitate eorum, et illos
" redderent regibus; et quod darent regibus prædictis
" ducenta millia bisantiorum; et quod ipsi in custodia
" prædictorum regum remanerent obsides usque dum

¹ *trecentos*] quingentos, Hoveden.

² *quingentos*] *om. H.* The Itinerary states the numbers of Christian captives to be released as two thousand nobler, and five hundred of inferior rank. Bohadin says 1,500 inferior knights, and a hun-

dred of superior rank, to be chosen by the kings, p. 179. Bohadin also agrees with our author in giving the amount of ransom as 200,000 aurei, or as the Itinerary expresses it, 200,000 Saracenic talents. Itin. R. R. 232.

Hoveden,
306. a. 20.

" hæc omnia perficerentur. Et reges Franciæ et Angliæ
" illis statuerunt quadraginta dierum¹ terminum ad
" perficiendam istam conventionem. Quod si infra
" terminum perfecissent conventionem quieti abissent
" cum vita et membris, sin autem remanerent in mise-
" ricordia regum de vita et membris."

A.D. 1191.
July 12.
Capitulation
of Acre.

Hoveden,
306. a. 31.

His itaque conventionibus concessis utrobique et
juratis, miserunt reges milites et servientes suos in
civitatem, et elegerunt centum de majoribus paganis,
et posuerunt eos in turribus et domibus fortioribus
civitatis sub custodia. Cæteris paganis minoris pretii
tradiderunt infra muros civitatis locum vacuum, et
apposuerunt custodes qui administrarent illis quotidie
victus necessaria. Postea vero cum audissent reges
quod quidam illorum paganorum de nocte furtim abis-
sent, retruserunt eos in arctiori custodia in cellariis,
statuentes ut omnes qui baptizari vellent reciperentur
et liberi fierent. Indequè factum est quod multi paga-
norum, postquam baptizati sunt, abirent ad Saladinum,
relinquentes legem Christianam; et extunc prohibue-
runt reges, ne aliquis illorum amplius reciperetur ad
baptismum. Cumque Saladinus audisset quod pagani
sui fecissent pacem cum regibus, dissimulavit hoc per
se factum.

Measures
taken to
secure the
prisoners.

The Saracen
prisoners
who have
been bap-
tized fly to
Saladin.

Hoveden,
306. a. 40.

Tertia decima die mensis Julii, civitas Acræ et omnes
pagani et cætera omnia quæ erant in civitate partita
sunt inter reges Franciæ et Angliæ, numero et men-
sura. Constituit autem rex Franciæ ex parte sua ad
hoc faciendum, Drogonem de Merlou cum centum

July 13.
Division of
the pri-
soners:
Drogo de
Merlou ap-
pointed to
guard those
of Philip;

¹ Bohadin, p. 182, speaks of three monthly instalments by which the ransom was to be paid; and our author apparently thought that the time allowed ended on the 9th of August: the Itinerarium argues as if it expired at the end of July. Probably Bohadin's version is the

correct one, and the mention of forty days in the text is to be accounted for by the fact that that time actually expired before the pledge of Saladin was forfeited, and the hostages massacred, viz., Aug. 20.

A.D. 1191. militibus; et rex Angliæ constituit ex parte sua Hoveden.
206. a. 44.
 July 12. Hugonem de Gurnai cum centum militibus.

Hugh de Gurnai those of Richard.
 July 14. Quarta decima die mensis Julii, Saladinus et exercitus suus longius retraxit se ab exercitu Christianorum, et fixit tentoria in loco qui dicitur Safforia; et Hoveden.
206. a. 44.

Saladin retires to Safforia, and proposes terms of alliance with the Christians.
 nuncii ejus ibant et redibant ad reges Franciæ et Angliæ cum muneribus suis; per quos obtulit eis totam terram Jerusalem præter Le Crag de Monte Regali quod est trans fluvium Jordanis, ita quod illi ei tradidissent duo millia militum et quinque millia servientium, ad serviendum ei per unum annum contra dominum Musæ, filium¹ Noradini, ut supradictum est: sed reges noluerunt audire hunc sermonem.

July 15. Quinta decima die mensis Julii, Franciæ et Angliæ Hoveden.
206. a. 44.
 The engines dismounted. reges fecerunt disjungere perarias et alias machinas suas bellicas.

Richard sends to Saladin harriers and brachets.
 Eodem die rex Angliæ misit Saladino leporarios et brachetos, id est, odorisequos, et accipitres.

July 16. Sexto decimo die mensis Julii, Saladinus misit regi Angliæ munera magna et valde pretiosa per Attanuncium suum.

Saladin sends present to Richard, and an embassy to 168 v.
 Eodem die venerunt nuncii ex parte domini Muscæ Hoveden.
206. a. 44.
 et filii Noradini ad regem Franciæ et ad regem Angliæ.

hussy comes from the son of Nouredin, with proposals for an alliance.
 Et obtulerunt eis quod omnes homines sui et ipse recipere legem Christianam et baptizarentur, si illi vellent præstare eis auxilium contra Saladinum. Sciensque Saladinus omnia quæ dominus Muscæ et filius Noradini prædictis regibus Christianorum obtulerant, multo magis se devotiorem et humiliorem exhibuit illis in obsequiis faciendis.

Saladin proposes more favourable terms.
 Eodem die Alardus Veronensis episcopus² et Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalis et apostolicæ sedis legatus, Hoveden.
206. b. 1.

¹ filium] et filios, Hoveden.

² Adelard, bishop of Verona, | 1188-1211; cardinal priest of S. Marcellus, 1185.

Hoveden, 396. b. 2. et Tironensis,¹ et Pisanus,² et Auxiensis archiepiscopi, A.D. 1191. July 16. bishops purifies the churches of Acre. et Salesbiriensis et Ebroicensis, et Baonicensis et Tripolitanus, et Carnotensis et Belvacensis episcopi, et cæteri ecclesiarum principes, ecclesias civitatis Acræ sanctificaverunt, quas pagani polluerunt; et altaria ædificaverunt Domino, et Missarum sollemnia in eis celebraverunt. Reges autem et exercitus Christianorum intendebant reparationi murorum civitatis, et domos civitatis reædificaverunt.

Hoveden, 396. b. 7. Sexta decima et septima decima et octava decima die mensis Julii, Pisani et nummularii et cæteri mercatores receperunt infra civitatem Acræ, per distributionem servientium regis Angliæ et regis Franciæ, mansiones suas in foro rerum venalium, reddituri inde singulis annis solitos redditus. July 16-18. The bankers and merchants have places assigned them.

Hoveden, 396. b. 10. Nono decimo die mensis Julii, cum comites et barones exercitus, qui jam fere per biennium moram fecerant in obsidione Acræ, vidissent quod reges Franciæ et Angliæ omnia quæ ceperant in captione civitatis propriis marsupiis inclusissent, et nullam eis partem facere inde voluissent; convenerunt extra fossata exteriora, et habito ibi colloquio mandaverunt regibus quod ipsi cum illis diutius non facerent moram, nisi fuerint participes lucri sicut et laboris exstiterunt. Audientes itaque reges minas has, responderunt se satisfacturos voluntati eorum; sed quia id facere reges distulerunt de die in diem, multi paupertate coacti arma sua vendiderunt et ab illis recesserunt. July 19. The nobles of the crusade demand their share of the spoil. The kings delaying to comply, many return home.

Hoveden, 396. b. 17, shorter. Vicesima die mensis Julii, festo Sanctæ Margaretæ virginis, Ricardus rex Angliæ videns quod ipse et rex Franciæ nihil proficiebant adversus Saladinum in faciundo pacem, petivit a rege Franciæ, ut pariter cum exercitibus suis jurassent, per triennium se morari in terra illa ad debellandum inimicos Crucis Christi, nisi July 20. Richard proposes that the crusaders shall swear to stay three years in Palestine.

¹ *Tironensis*] The archbishop of Tyre (?). | ² *Pisanus*] Ubaldo Lanfranchi, 1174-1209.

A.D. 1191.
July 20.
Philip re-
fuses to
swear.

Saladinus redderet celerius Jerusalem et totam terram Jerosolimitanam. Cui rex Franciæ respondit se nullum sacramentum inde præstare. Habuit enim jam in mente in proximo recedere in regionem suam.

July 21.
Richard
brings his
wife and sis-
ter into
Acre.

Die vicesima prima mensis Julii, Ricardus rex Angliæ intravit in civitatem Acræ, et habitavit in palatio regis, quod eum contingebat quando civitas partita fuit inter illum et regem Franciæ. Eodemque die introduxit ad se in palatium, uxorem suam reginam Angliæ, et Siciliæ reginam sororem suam, et filiam imperatoris de Cypra.

Hoveden,
396. b. 21.

July 22.
The French
nobles come
to ask
Richard's
advice about
Philip's in-
tention to
return
home.

Die mensis Julii vicesima secunda, in festo Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, cum rex esset in palatio et principes exercitus sui convenissent coram eo ad audiendum præceptum ejus; venerunt ad eum ex parte regis Franciæ Robertus¹ Belvacensis episcopus et Hugo dux Burgundiæ, et Drogo de Amiens et Willelmus de Merlou, et cum steterunt coram rege et salutassent ex parte regis Franciæ, proruperunt in fletum ita quod unum solum verbum proferre non potuerunt. Quibus flentibus cæteri provocabantur in fletum propter motum animi quem viderant in eis. Cumque perstarent in fletum rex Angliæ conversus ad eos dixit, "Nolite flere, scio quod petituri estis. Dominus quidem vester, rex Franciæ, desiderat repatriare; et venistis ex parte ejus ut habeat inde consilium a me et licentiam redeundi." Tunc illi vultu demisso, "Domine," inquirunt, "vos nostis omnia; et nos ex parte ejus ad vos venimus pro licentia et consilio vestro ut possit redire. Dicit enim nisi celerius a terra ista recesserit, morietur." Quibus rex Angliæ respondit, "Dedecus est et opprobrium sempiternum illi et regno Franciæ, si imperfecto negotio pro quo venit recesserit: et per consilium meum hinc non recedet. At si oportet eum mori, vel in patriam

Hoveden,
396. b. 24,
shorter.

fo. 169 r.

Richard's
advice.

¹ So also Hoveden. It was Philip of Dreux. Hoveden gives a very brief account of this transaction.

" suam ire, liceat ei facere quod velit, et quod sibi et A.D. 1191.
 " suis commodius videtur."

Hoveden,
 396. b. 30,
 shorter.

Die vicesima tertia mensis Julii, cum divulgatum July 22.
 esset per exercitum quod rex Franciæ recederet, vene- The nobles of Philip's army beg him to stay.
 runt ad eum principes exercitus sui, et postulaverunt,
 ne ita impudenter a servitio Dei recederet; sed ut
 respiceret actus prædecessorum suorum, et dignitatem
 regis Francorum custodiret illæsam. Consensit tunc
 consilio fidelium suorum, et quærens occasionem rema-
 nendi iterum postulavit a rege Angliæ medietatem
 insulæ Cypriæ, sed nihil impetravit; et exinde orta est He quarrels and is reconciled with Richard.
 discordia magna inter eos; tamen per consilium sapi-
 entum virorum utriusque quievit indignatio, et facti
 sunt amici.

Hoveden,
 396. b. 32.

Die vicesima sexta mensis Julii, per consilium regis July 26.
 Franciæ, venit Conradus Marchio et procidit ad pedes Conrad of Montferrat is reconciled with Richard.
 regis Angliæ, veniam petens et accipiens; odio enim
 illum habebat rex Angliæ propter Guidonem regem
 Jerusalem. In crastino, scilicet die vicesima septima July 27.
 mensis Julii, convenerunt reges in unum locum, et Conrad and Guy refer their claims to the arbitration of Richard and Philip with the bishops and barons.
 Guido de Lizinan et Conradus Marchio cum illis;
 cunctisque residentibus idem Conradus surrexit, et facto
 silentio petiit sibi regnum Jerosolimitanum de jure
 uxoris suæ, [sororis] Sibyllæ reginæ, quæ sine prole
 decessit. Guido de Lizinan petebat idem regnum,
 desicut ille rex inde exstiterat, et in nullo deliquerat
 quare illud deberet amittere: et uterque illorum posuit
 se in iudicio et consilio regum Franciæ et Angliæ, et
 archiepiscoporum et præsulum, et comitum et baronum
 exercitus. Factaque pax et finalis concordia inter illos,
 consilio et iudicio prædictorum regum et totius exer-
 citus in hunc modum.

Die Julii vicesima octava reges Franciæ et Angliæ, July 28.
 et omnes principes exercitus convenerunt ad palatium They assemble to hear the decision.
 in quo rex Angliæ erat hospitatus; et Guido de
 Lisinant et Conradus Marchio cum illis ad audien-
 dum iudicium suum.

A.D. 1191.
July 29.

The de-
cession.
Guy is to be
king for his
life.

Conrad is to
succeed him.

The reve-
nues are to
be equally
divided.
Geoffrey of
Lusignan is
to have
Joppa and
Caesarea;
Conrad,
Tyre, Sidon,
and Berytus.

fo. 100 v.

July 30.
Philip gives
Conrad his
share of
Acre:

and asks
leave to
return
home.

Richard
grants it on
condition
that he shall
swear to
keep peace
with him at
home.

Inprimis prædicti Guido et Conradus juraverunt in-
concussæ se servare iudicium illud inviolatum prout
reges constituerent. Deinde prædicti reges iudicave-
runt cum toto exercitu, Guidoni regnum Jerosolimi-
tanum; ita quod quamvis uxorem duceret et filios
et filias generaret, tamen nullam hæreditatem in illo
regno poterunt clamare; sed post decessum illius, si
prædictus Conradus et uxor ejus, soror Sibyllæ reginæ,
supervixerint eum, succedent ei in regnum, et hæredes
illorum sequentur sceptrum, et jure hæreditario tene-
bunt illud. Et interim omnes redditus terræ Jerusa-
lem dimidiabuntur inter Guidonem regem et prædic-
tum Conradum quamdiu vixerint. Et Gaufridus de
Lizinan, frater Guidonis regis, habebit comitatum de
Jopen, id est, de Jafes; et Cæsaream; et possidebit
ea jure hæreditario: et ipse et hæredes sui facient inde
semper servitium regi Jerusalem solitum et debitum.
Similiter prædictus Conradus habebit Tyrum et Sido-
nem et Baruht; et possidebit ea jure hæreditario; et
ipse et hæredes sui facient inde semper servitium regi
Jerusalem solitum et debitum. Hæc itaque omnia
supradicta capitula firmiter et inconcusse tenenda,
uterque illorum, scilicet Guido rex et Conradus Marchio,
bona fide et sine malo ingenio juraverunt.

Vicesima nona die mensis Julii Philippus rex Fran-
ciæ dedit Conrado Marchioni omnia quæ adquisierat
in civitate Acræ.

Et eodem die rex Franciæ, contra consilium et
voluntatem principum suorum, iterum, quæsivit a rege
Angliæ licentiam redeundi in patriam suam, et obti-
nuit petitionem suam. Et ipse juravit, tactis sacro-
sanctis Evangeliiis coram omni populo, quod nec ipse
damnum faceret, nec ab aliquo fieri permetteret, regi
Angliæ vel terris vel hominibus suis; sed omnes
homines et omnes terras illius bene et in pace custo-
diret, et secundum posse suum ab hostium invasione,
terras et homines suos defenderet, ac si vallet defen-

Hoveden,
222. b. 41.

Hoveden,
227. a. 2.

Hoveden,
227. a. 4,
shorter.

dere civitatem suam Parisius, si aliquis eam invasisset. A.D. 1191.
July 29.

Hoveden,
387. a. 8.

Deinde rex Franciæ constituit Hugonem ducem Burgundiæ principem exercitus sui sub rege Angliæ, et tradidit Raimundo¹ principi Antiochiæ centum milites et quingentos servientes ad defendendum civitatem Antiochiæ contra paganos; similiter rex Angliæ tradidit eidem principi Antiochiæ centum milites et quingentos servientes ad defensionem terræ suæ; et dedit unicuique illorum totam liberationem suam ab illo die usque ad Pascha proximo venturum, et constituit Robertum de Quinci constabularium et ducem illorum. Præterea rex Angliæ dedit prædicto principi Antiochiæ quinque naves magnas onustas equis et armis et victualibus.

Philip places
the duke of
Burgundy in
command of
the French;
and sends
succours to
Antioch.

Hoveden,
387. a. 15.

Tricesima die mensis Julii, Philippus rex Franciæ et Ricardus rex Angliæ partiti sunt inter eos omnes paganos qui capti fuerant in civitate Acræ. July 30.
Division of
the pri-
soners.

Hoveden,
387. a. 16.

Tricesima prima die mensis Julii, scilicet ultima die ejusdem mensis, festo Sancti Germani, Philippus rex Franciæ assumpsit secum Manasser episcopum de Lengria,² et Reginaldum episcopum Carnotensem, et Petrum comitem de Neverz: et abiit Tyrum adducens secum Karracois et omnes alios paganos qui illum continebant; et cum inde recessisset tradidit illos Conrado Marchioni custodiendos.³ July 31.
Philip goes
from Acro to
Tyre.

Hoveden,
387. a. 21.

Prima die mensis Augusti, et secunda et tertia, Ricardus rex Angliæ, habito consilio cum principibus exercitus, fecit in navibus ponere omnes perarias, et alias machinas suas bellicas; et omnes naves suas onerare fecit frumento, vino et oleo, et aliis quæ erant necessaria hominibus et equis. Fecitque edictum ut August 1-3.
Richards
embarks his
engines and
provisions.

¹ Raimundo] Bohemond III.

² Manasser, 1179 or 1180-1192.

³ Hoveden here adds, "Tertia
" vero die mensis Augusti ex

" Franciæ a Tyro recessit, tradens
" Conrado Marchioni omnes paga-
" nos suos in custodia."

A.D. 1191. omnes parati essent sequi eum cum equis et armis, dicebat enim se iturum Scalonam.

August 4. Richard hires all the archers in the host. Quarta die mensis Augusti, Ricardus rex Angliæ omnes sagittarios exercitus venire coram eo fecit, et ipse dedit eis bona stipendia; et multitudo eorum erat adeo magna quod timor apprehendit Saladinum et exercitum ejus.

August 5. Richard sends Hubert Walter to Tyre for Philip's prisoners. Quinta die mensis Augusti, rex Angliæ per consilium principum exercitus misit Hubertum Walteri Salesbiriensem episcopum¹ ad civitatem Tyri, propter paganos quos rex Franciæ secum abduxerat, ut illos ad exercitum reduceret. Dies enim peremptorius appropinquabat in quo ipsi perficere debebant conventionem quam fecerant cum regibus Franciæ et Angliæ, pro vita et membris habendis, et pro libertate redeundi, quia sine illis pax fieri non potuit. Qui cum Tyrum venisset, non invenit regem Franciæ ibi. Tertia enim die præcedenti inde recesserat, et in custodia Conradi dimiserat prædictos paganos. Dixit ergo Conrado Salesbiriensis episcopus causam adventus sui, et petiit ex parte regis Angliæ et principum exercitus, quod ipse cum festinatione venisset ad regem Angliæ, et duxisset secum Karracois et cæteros paganos omnes. Cui Conradus respondit, "Rex Angliæ nullum mihi tradidit; nec ego ad illum ibo, nec aliquem paganorum ad illum mittam."

Hoveden, 397. a. 24, much shorter.

August 6. Hubert stays at Tyre, and then returns with the message, August 7. Sexta die mensis Augusti episcopus Salesbiriensis moram fecit apud Tyrum in legatione illa. Postera vero die venit Accon, et narravit regi Angliæ primum secreto, deinde omnibus principibus exercitus, omnia quæ viderat et audierat a Conrado; unde rex et principes valde indignati sunt. Tunc rex ait, "Eamus et vindicemus in petjurum illum injurias quas nobis

¹ We learn from the Itinerarium, and Peter des Præaux, accompanied 242, that Robert count of Dreux, the bishop of Salisbury.

" facit, et auferamus ab eo civitatem Tyri, quia certus
 " sum quod ea quæ facit non facit per regem." A.D. 1191.
 'August 7.
 Hugh duke
 of Burgundy
 offers to go
 for the
 prisoners.
 Principes exercitus assensum præbuerunt dictis regis.
 Cumque Hugo dux Burgundiæ vidisset cor regis
 Angliæ ita inflammatum, ait, "Sustinete parumper, et
 " dimittite me illuc ire; et nisi ego eos adduxero, fiat
 " quod volueritis." Placuit sermo iste regi et cunctis
 audientibus.

Hoveden,
 397. a. 23.

Octava igitur die mensis Augusti, dux Burgundiæ¹
 assumpsit secum Robertum Belvacensem episcopum et
 Guidonem de Dampere, et Willelmum de Merlou, fami- August 8.
 The duke
 goes to
 Tyre.
 liares Conradi. Et rex Angliæ associavit eis ex parte
 sua Robertum de Quinci; et profecti sunt Tyrum
 octava die mensis Augusti.

Nono die ejusdem mensis, feria sexta, erat primus August 9.
 The day
 of ransom
 arrives; and
 is postponed
 until the
 20th.
 dies peremptorius in quo Crux Sancta, et supradicti
 Christiani milites et servientes, et ducenta millia bi-
 santiorum reddi debuerant regi Angliæ; et Saladinus
 debebat recipere paganos suos omnes qui capti erant
 in civitate Accon. Et quia illi quos rex Franciæ
 abduxerat nondum venerant, statutus est alius dies
 peremptorius usque in diem undecimum post illum.

Decima et undecima die mensis Augusti, dux Bur- Aug. 10 & 11.
 The duke
 stays at
 Tyre.
 gundiæ et qui cum eo missi fuerant moram fecerunt
 cum Conrado apud Tyrum. Duodecima vero die Au- August 12.
 He returns.
 Proposed
 conference
 between
 Richard and
 Saladin's
 brother, who
 fails to
 appear.
 gusti redierunt Accon, et adduxerunt Karrakois et
 cæteros paganos quos rex Franciæ abduxerat. Eodem
 die rex Angliæ et multi cum eo exierunt fossata ex-
 teriora ad loquendum cum Thekedino² fratre Saladini,
 qui conabatur facere pacem inter regem Angliæ et
 Saladinum: sed Thekedinus non venit ad loquendum,
 nec misit nuncium, unde rex plurimum iratus dixit

¹ According to the Itinerarium, 242, the duke's companions were Drogo of Amiens and Robert de Quincy. Hoveden omits or abridges

the whole detail, from the 8th to the 13th inclusive.

² Thekedino] This is probably a mistake for Safadin.

A.D. 1191. quod ipse nunquam de cætero loqueretur cum illo
August 12. pacifice.

August 13. Tertiâ decima die mensis Augusti, rex Angliæ [misit] Hoveden,
397. a. 33,
shorter.
Richard declares himself ready to fulfil his part in the agreement.
nuncium Saladino se paratum esse tenere omnem conventionem quam fecerat cum paganis, quos in civitate Accon ceperat, si ipse ea reddiderit quæ pro eis promiserat: sin autem, pro certo sciret quod omnia paganorum capita amputaret. Cui Saladinus respondit, "Si tu meorum paganorum capita amputaveris, ego tuorum amputabo capita Christianorum."

August 14. Vigilia beatæ Mariæ matris Domini, quæ quarta Hoveden,
397. a. 36.
Richard with a small force encamps outside Acre.
decima die mensis Augusti feria quarta fuit, rex Angliæ exivit exteriora fossata, et fixit tentoria prope exercitum Saladini, et præcepit ut omnes sequerentur; sed pauci secuti sunt eum propter inopiam equorum et aliorum quorundam quæ defuerunt eis.

August 15. Quinta decima die mensis Augusti, festo Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, rex Angliæ moram faciens in tentoriis, iterum per commune edictum præcepit ut omnis exercitus sequeretur eum. Multi autem secuti sunt eum; sed major pars exercitus murmuravit contra eum, dicens, "Durus est hic sermo; nos pauperes sumus, et non habemus quid manducemus aut bibamus, neque vestes quibus operiamur, nec equos in quibus ascendamus; quomodo ergo poterimus eum sequi? Ipse enim nihil dat nobis." Pervenit itaque clamor populi ad aures regis, qui misertus illorum dedit universis quantum eis necessarium fuit. Eadem die nuncii Saladini ibant et revertebantur sæpius ad regem Angliæ cum muneribus pretiosis et cum prece, humiliter postulantes quod dies sententiæ quam ipse paganis constituerat prolongaretur. At rex munera illorum spernens, juravit quod dies sententiæ non prolongaretur. Nuncii tamen Saladini effecerunt adversus regem Angliæ, quod in crastino veniret ad colloquium inter ipsum et Saladinum; in crastino, scilicet decimo sexto die mensis Augusti. Quo cum rex Angliæ ve-

fo. 176 v.
Richard provides for them.
Exchange of gifts between Richard and Saladin.

nisset, nec Saladinus nec nuncius venit pro eo illuc. A.D. 1191. August 16. Saladin fails to keep an appointment with Richard.
 Quod rex multum admirans, misit nuncios ad Saladinum inquirens quare non venisset ad colloquium. Quibus Saladinus, "Quia," inquit, "non potui perficere conventionem quam sui cum eo fecerant, ideo
 "non veni."

Die decimo septimo mensis Augusti, Sabbato, clerici August 17. A bishop of Acre chosen.
 civitatis Acon elegerunt sibi episcopum.

Hoveden,
397. a. 43.

Die decimo octavo mensis Augusti, Saladinus fecit amputari capita omnium Christianorum captivorum, in die Dominica, quos reddere debuerat in redemptionem paganorum. Eodem die rex Angliæ removit exercitum suum, et fixit tentoria sua propius exercitui Saladini; August 18. Saladin beheads his prisoners.
 et congressum fecit cum Saladino et cum gente sua; Skirmish between Richard and Saladin.
 et multi ex utraque parte ceciderunt vulnerati et interfecti, inter quos Petrus Minnot¹ quidam familiaris regis Angliæ interfectus est.

Hoveden,
397. a. 47.

Nona decima die Augusti, cum rex Angliæ audisset August 19. Richard's indignation at Saladin's cruelty.
 necem Christianorum quos Saladinus interfecerat, doluit vehementer, et tamen noluit diem peremptorium quem statuerat anticipare.

Hoveden,
397. a. 46.

Vicesima die mensis Augusti, feria tertia,² xiii^o. kalendas Septembris, Ricardus rex Angliæ fecit omnes paganos qui eum contingebant, ducere ante exercitum Saladini, et in conspectu omnium fecit amputare capita illorum. Dux vero Burgundiæ fecit amputare omnia capita paganorum qui dominum suum regem Franciæ contingebant, infra muros civitatis et extra, prope civitatem. August 20. Richard and the duke of Burgundy behead their prisoners.

Hoveden,
397. b. 2.

Christiani vero paganos mortuos eviscerantes, in Treatment of the dead bodies.
 corporibus ipsorum multa invenere bisantia; et fel eorum ressecabant, et usui medicinali reservabant.

Hoveden,
397. a. 55.

At rex Angliæ noluit interficere Mestoch, qui erat The more important prisoners
 admiralis de Roais, et constabularius de Jerusalem et

¹ Minnot] Mignot, Hoveden.

² Bohadin, 183, agrees with our author in this. The statement of the Itinerarium is rather ambiguous.

A.D. 1191. August 20. are reserved for ransom. de Scalona, nec Karracois qui erat summus consiliarius et eunuchus Saladini. Hi enim duo promiserant regi se reddituros ei Jerusalem et Scalonam pro vita et membris eorum. Noluit quoque rex interficere Hesinde filium Caulun,¹ nec Hesinde Jordic admiralem de Halape, nec Passelar constabularium Concon, nec Camardoli, thesaurarium armorum Acon, nec Kahedin qui erat scriptor in Acon. Omnes hi promittebant pecuniam multam et auxilia magna regi et Christianis pro vita et membris suis.

Hoveden, 397. b. 1.¹ shorter.

August 21. Acre committed to Bertram de Verdun and Stephen Longchamp. Die vicesima prima mensis Augusti, post necem paganorum, tradidit rex Angliæ civitatem Acon Bertramno de Verdun et Stephano de Nunchams, fratri Eliensis episcopi,² in custodia. Et dimisit ibi uxorem suam et sororem suam et filiam imperatoris Ysaac de Cypra. Et constituit alios quoque custodes qui custodirent civitatem et reginas et thesauros suos cum prædictis custodibus.

Hoveden, 397. b. 2.

August 22. Richard leaves Acre, and stays three days between Acre and Haifa. The fleet comes along the shore. fo. 171 r. Vicesima secunda die mensis Augusti, feria quinta, rex Angliæ transivit fluvium Acræ cum exercitu suo; et inter fluvium illum et mare, prope littus maris, fixit tentoria inter Acon et castellum Chaiphaz; et ibidem moram fecit per tres³ dies. Deinde perrexit cum exercitu secus littus versus Joppen, et naves ejus juxta eum velificabant cum victualibus et machinis bellicis, ut cum necesse esset ad naves recuperare posset. Saladinus autem et exercitus ejus ibant per montana, a sinistris exercitus regis non longe ab eo,

Hoveden, 397. b. 2.

¹ *Caulun*] Caulini, Hoveden. Hoveden states here that the number of captives slain was 5,000; the Itinerarium gives 2,700; Bohadin, 3,000.

² Hoveden omits the name of Stephen Longchamp. It may be questioned whether he really was brother to William the chancellor; or if so, whether he is identical with

Stephen of Longchamp, steward of Normandy under Richard I., who was certainly a man of good descent.

³ *tres*] quatuor, Hoveden. The text is right, or at least agrees with the Itinerarium, according to which the army crossed the Belus on the 22nd, and started on the march to the coast on the 25th.

Hoveden, 397. b. 11. insidiantes die ac nocte, ut opportunitatem haberent A.D. 1191. congregari cum Christianis vel impediendi vias illorum.

Bellum inter Ricardum regem et Saladinum.

Hoveden, 397. b. 12. differently. Tertia autem die post Exaltationem Sanctæ Crucis,¹ Sept. 17 (or rather Sept. 7). infra mensem Septembris, cum rex appropinquasset Richard finds Saladin encamped near Caesarea. Cæsareæ et venisset ad fluvium qui dicitur fluvius Cæsareæ, invenit ibi Saladinum et exercitum ejus magnum, qui fluvium undique occupaverant et tentoria sua fixerant ad impedimentum viæ. Videns itaque rex Angliæ quod ipse et exercitus suus nocte illa siti perirent, et pecora eorum, si haustus aquæ illis negaretur; videns quoque quod si pedem retraxissent omnes interficerentur, pagani enim eos ita circumdederant quod nulli securus patebat regressus, divisit statim Richard divides his army. exercitum suum per turmas, et hortabatur eos viriliter pugnare contra inimicos Crucis Christi, et jussit percutere gentem paganam.

Et in prima cohorte erat Jakes de Avennes, miles James of Avennes attacks the Turks. fide catholicus et militari probitate strenuus. Ipse His death autem cum cohorte sua primum impetum fecit in paganos, et perforavit illos. Sed ipse, pro dolor! cecidit in conflictu et occisus est, et multi Christiani et pagani ceciderunt in impetu illo.²

Post illam cohortem venit alia cohors, in qua erat

¹ This curious mistake as to the date of the battle of Arsûf occurs also in Hoveden, although his account of the battle differs altogether from that in the text. The battle was fought on the 7th, not on the 17th of September. Here, evidently, we lose the guidance of the authority which has kept the journal of Richard's movements from his arrival in Palestine. Hoveden's error is inexcusable, as he gives a letter

of Richard in which the date is correctly stated. But our author does not seem to have known of this letter, or of the one to the abbot of Clairvaux which follows it. Hoveden gives some additional particulars of the battle which are not in either letter.

² Brompton, 1214, interpolates here some particulars of the death of James of Avesnes, which he took from Hemmingburgh.

A.D. 1191.
Sept. 7.
Richard
leads the
second
division.

rex Angliæ, qui per medium paganorum transiens maximam stragem fecit ex obstantibus, et liberavit fluvium a paganis, et transivit fluvium et utramque ripam obtinuit et multæ cohortes Christianorum secutæ sunt eum sine impedimento.

The duke of
Burgundy
with the
third
division is
beaten, but
saved by
Richard.

Ultimam vero cohortem Christianorum, cujus duces fuerunt Hugo dux Burgundiæ et Templarii, Saladinus et major et fortior pars exercitus ejus obsederant, et undique crudelissime invaserant, et occiderant jam maximam partem Christianorum. Rex autem Angliæ, qui longe præerat, audivit clamorem illorum, et gemitum Christianorum morientium, reversusque cum festinatione in auxilium illorum, impetum fecit in paganos et multos illorum interfecit, et sic liberavit populum suum a perditione. Pagani autem versi sunt in fugam, et Christiani secuti sunt illos in ore gladii; et plusquam quadraginta millia illorum interfecerant die illa, et reversi sunt ad fluvium.

The Turks
desert
Cæsarea,
Joppa, and
Ascalon.

Pagani autem qui custodiebant Cæsaream et Jopen et Scalonam, cum audissent adventum regis Angliæ, fugerunt, subvertentes muros et munitiones civitatum illarum in quantum poterant tanto tempore.

Hoveden,
308. b. 7.

Richard
determines
to rebuild
them.

Cumque rex Angliæ urbium illarum desolationem vidisset, reædificare eas studuit: et regressus in civitatem Acon, mensas nummulariorum subvertit, et elegit plusquam viginti millia hominum ex hominibus civitatis Acon, et reduxit secum ad præfatas urbes desolatas, et ex illis reædificavit eas.

De reditu regis Franciæ de terra Jerosolimitana.

August.
Philip starts
from Tyre,
and passes
Berytus,
Jebell, and
Botrun.

Interim Philippus rex Franciæ; imperfecta peregrinatione sua, a terra Jerosolimitana recedens, cum quatuordecim galeis transitum fecit ante civitatem de Baruth, quæ tunc erat in manu paganorum. Deinde venit ante Gibbelet civitatem, et ante Buterun castel-

Hoveden,
408. a. 28.

- Hoveden, 403. a. 29. lum et ante Neffin castellum. Deinde venit ad civitatem Tripolis, ubi moram fecerat per aliquot dies. A.D. 1191. August. He comes to Tripoli.
- Hoveden, 403. a. 30. Et cum inde recessisset venit ante castellum de Archis, et ante castellum Album; deinde ante Le Culiast castellum Hospitalis; deinde ante Turtusam, quæ est insula in mari quæ dicitur Aredos, unde Turtusa dicitur civitas Antaradensis, civitas episcopalis. Deinde venit ad Maureclaye, portum bonum; et recedens inde transivit ante Margat, castellum Hospitalis.¹ He passes Arks, Castel Blanc, el Khulast, Tortosa, Maraclea, Merkeb. fo. 171 v.
- Hoveden, 403. a. 31. Deinde venit ad Valenam, civitatem episcopalem, et postea venit ad civitatem episcopalem quæ dicitur Gibel: deinde ad civitatem Melidam; deinde ad portum Sancti Symeonis; deinde ad civitatem Antiochenam. Jebleh, Melibea, S. Symeon, Antioch.
- Hoveden, 403. a. 32. Et rediens inde transivit per portum Bunel, deinde per portum Alexandret; deinde intravit terram Erminiorum quæ dicitur Erminia; et est terra Rupini de la Muntaine.² Bellan (?). Alexandretta and Armenia.
- Hoveden, 403. a. 40. Deinde venit ad fluvium qui dicitur Til, et est ibi civitas bona super fluvium illum, quæ similiter dicitur Til. Et inde ad fluvium magnum qui dicitur Curch, et ibi est civitas magna deserta quæ dicitur Curch super fluvium. Deinde venit ad fluvium magnum tertium qui dicitur Salef; et ibi est civitas super fluvium quæ dicitur Salef. In isto fluvio Salef submersus est Fredericus imperator Romanorum, cum exiret de terra Soltani de Yconio. Corycus and Salef.
- Hoveden, 403. a. 46. Et sciendum est quod a finibus illis venerunt illi tres reges qui obtulerunt Domino nostro Jesu Christo aurum, thus et myrrham, quorum nomina hæc sunt, Jespar, Baptizar, Melchior, quorum unus erat rex de insula Saleph; et alter rex de Malmistre, et tertius The country of the three kings.

¹ Hoveden inserts, "ubi Isakius | ² Hoveden adds, "sub principe
"imperator de Cypre tenebatur in | "Antiochiæ."
"vinculis."

- A.D. 1191. erat rex de Terzeil, id est, Tharsis : unde dicitur in Hoveden, 403. a. 48.
The three kings came from Salef, Malmistra, and Tarsus. psalmo "reges Tharsis et insulæ munera offerent." Et Pa. lxxii. 10.
notandum quod hi tres fluvii, scilicet Saleph, et Curch, et Thil, oriuntur in Turkia, quæ dicitur terra Turchorum, qui sunt homines Soldani de Iconio ; et dividit terram Turchorum a terra Rupini de la Muntane ; et descendunt in gulfum Sataliæ. Et Salef fluvijs oppositus est insulæ de Cipre, quæ non distat ab ea plusquam quinquaginta milliaria, ad æstimationem nautarum, facile enim videtur de una ripa in alteram.
- Philip passes Et cum rex Franciæ a Saleph fluvijs recessisset, Hoveden, 403. b. 1.
transivit juxta montes excelsos qui dicuntur Carmerdes.¹ Deinde transivit ante castellum quod dicitur Nesekin ; deinde venit ad villam bonam quæ dicitur Stamere, in qua nobilis abbatia est Griffonum. Deinde transivit ante castellum desertum quod dicitur castellum de Roto. Deinde venit ad fluvium qui dicitur Scalendros. Fluvius ille dividit terram Erminiorum quæ est terra Rupini de la Montane, a terra imperatoris Constantinopolitani. Et ibi ex una parte illius fluvii, in terra prædicti Rupini secus mare est castellum quod dicitur Ysanci ; et ex altera parte illius fluvii in terra imperatoris Constantinopolitani est castellum quod dicitur Antiochet.
- He knights the eldest son of Constantine of Antiochetta. Cumque rex Franciæ illuc venisset, Constantinus, Hoveden, 403. b. 9.
qui tunc erat dominus castelli illius, recepit eum cum gaudio, et administrabat ei necessaria. Et rex Franciæ ibi moram fecit per octo dies, et filium prædicti Constantini primogenitum fecit militem.
- Here is the frontier of Armenia and the empire. Et sciendum est, quod a fluvijs illo qui dicitur Scalandros, tota terra quæ est secus mare versus septentrionem est terra imperatoris Constantinopolis et dicitur Rumania ; idem est quod Græcia. Hoveden, 403. b. 12.
- Et cum rex Franciæ recessisset ab Antiochet, statim Hoveden, 403. b. 14.
intravit gulfum Sathaliæ. Gulfus dicitur ubi aqua

¹ Carmerdes] Cathimerdes, H.

- Hoveden, 403. b. 15. protenditur inter duas terras et sinum facit. Sathalia A.D. 1191.
castellum est optimum, unde gulfus ille nomen acce- Philip enters the gulf of Sathalia;
pit; et super gulfum illum sunt duo castella et villæ,
et utrumque dicitur Satalia. Sed unum illorum est
desertum et dicitur vetus Satalia, quod piratæ de-
struxerunt; et alterum nova Satalia dicitur, quod
Manuel imperator Constantinopolis firmavit.
- Hoveden, 403. b. 18. Transitoque gulfo Sataliæ, transivit rex Franciæ fo. 173 r. he passes Chelidonia;
cum galeis suis sub monte qui dicitur Siredone in fine
gulfu Sataliæ. Deinde transivit per montem excelsum
valde, qui dicitur Reswz.
- Hoveden, 403. b. 20. Deinde venit ad fluvium qui dicitur Winke, super the river Phineka, and port of the Pisans;
quem est castellum destructum per piratas quod dici-
tur Reswz. Et fluvius ille dicitur portus Pisanorum,
eo quod piratæ Pisani portum illum sæpius frequen-
tant. Et contigit quod cum rex Franciæ transisset
perinde invenit ibi quatuor galeas piratarum, qui
multa mala fecerant Christianis; et cepit eas rex.
Piratæ autem, relictis galeis fugerunt in montanis, et
sic evaserunt mortem.
- Hoveden, 403. b. 25. Deinde venit rex ad Mirream civitatem, ubi beatus Myra;
Nicholaus archiepiscopatum tenuit, quæ Græce dicitur
Stamirre.
- Hoveden, 403. b. 26. Deinde venit ille ad bonum portum et securum in Kakova,
omni tempestate et vento, qui dicitur Crachous;¹ et ex
utraque parte illius portus fuerunt antiquitus civitates
pulchræ et magnæ quæ dicebantur Cake. Et ruinæ
magnæ apparent usque in hodiernum diem; et nemo
in eis habitat propter metum piratarum.
- Hoveden, 403. b. 30. Deinde transivit per insulas de Yse, in quarum una Kasteloriso legend about the place.
est castellum quod dicitur Castellum Ruge. Ibi mansit
jamdudum quædam puella quæ Yse vocabatur, a
cujus nomine insulæ illæ nomen acceperunt. Indigenæ
quidem narrant quod quidam miles dilexit puellam
illam, et illa noluit consentire illi quamdiu vixit: qua

¹ *Crachous*] *Karkois*, H.

A.D. 1191.
Legend of
the gulf of
Satalia.

defuncta miles accessit et concubuit cum ea dicens, ^{Hoveden, 403. b. 34.} "Quod cum viva facere non potui, cum mortua feci:" cui illa¹ dicitur respondisse, "Ecce, genuisti in me filium, et cum tempus pariendi advenerit ego afferam tibi filium tuum." Et post novem menses, cum tempus pariendi instaret, peperit filium sed abortivum; quem portans ad militem, ait, "Ecce filius tuus, quem genuisti: abscede caput ejus et reserva tibi; quando-cunque enim volueris inimicum tuum vincere vel terram ejus destruere, vultus capitis abscisi disco-operiatur, et convertetur versus inimicum tuum et terram ejus; et statim ipse et terra ejus peribunt. Et cum cessare volueris recooperiatur caput, et cessabit tribulatio." Et factum est ita, quemcunque enim destruere volebat, ipse destruxit. Post multum vero temporis miles ille duxit uxorem, quæ sæpius interrogavit eum qua arte vel ingenio ita destruebat omnes inimicos suos sine armis et sine exercitu. Ille autem ei dicere noluit, sed increpavit ut taceret; et quanto plus ipse increpavit eam tanto plus illa anxiebatur ut sciret. Contigit ergo quadam die, dum miles abesset, et ipsa esset cum solis puellis suis in secretiori thalamo:² accessit ad arcam in qua sperabat esse secretum illud domini sui, per quod ipse ita inique operabatur; et invenit in arca caput illud detestabile; et statim projecit illud in gulfo Sataliæ. Et dicitur quod quandocunque caput illud resupinum est, commovetur gulfus ille adeo quod nulla navis illum transire potest; et quando caput illud supinum jacet, fit tranquillitas magna in illo gulfo. Credat hoc Judæus Apella, non ego.

Another
story.

Et est aliud mirabile quod unoquoque mense anni ^{Hoveden, 403. b. 48.} semel contingit in gulfo illo Sataliæ. Videtur itaque quod draco magnus niger in nubibus veniat, et mittat

¹ Hoveden says, "Et statim in-
" travit Satan in illam et ait."

² et ipsa . . . thalamo] om. II.

Hoveden,
403. b. 40.

caput suum in undis, et cauda ejus videtur quod in-
fixa sit cœlo: et draco ille attrahit ad se undas
hauriendo cum tanta aviditate, quod si navis aliqua
fuerit prope haustum illum, etiam si fuerit onusta
viris vel quibuslibet aliis ponderosis, tamen hauritur
et defertur in sublime. Volentes autem periculum hoc
devitare, oportet quod cum primo illud vident, faciant
tumultum, et clamationes altas et sonitus magnos, per-
cutientes in tabulis: ut cum draco ille audierit tumul-
tum et voces clamantium, elonget se ab eis. Quidam
autem dicunt, quod hoc non est draco sed sol qui
attrahit aquas maris ad se, quod plus verum videtur.

A.D. 1191.
fo. 173 v.
Mythic
account of a
waterspout
in the gulf
of Satalia.

Hoveden,
403. b. 54.

Deinde¹ cum rex Franciæ recessisset ab insulis de
Yse, fecit transitum per montem excelsum, in cujus
summitate sita est Patera civitas, in qua natus fuit et
diu conversatus beatus Nicholaus.

Philip
passed
Patera;

Hoveden,
404. a. 1.

Inde transivit per montem valde excelsum, qui caput
dicitur Turkizæ, quia ii qui veniunt de Apulia, et cur-
sum suum in illa parte maris tenent, et appropinquant
Turkizæ, primo vident montem illum qui dicitur Caput
Turkizæ.² Estque divisa inter terram imperatoris Con-
stantinopolis, et terram Soldani de Yconio: et exinde
incipit Rumania quæ dicitur Græcia.

the Cape
of Turkey.

Hoveden,
404. a. 4.

Tota Rumania terra firma est, et est de dominio
imperatoris Constantinopolis, et multæ insulæ sunt
in mari Græco, quæ dicuntur insulæ Rumanizæ. Caput
Rumanizæ, est civitas Constantinopolis; et Rumania
jungitur Sclavoniæ et Hungariæ et Istriæ. In mari
Græco, ut dictum est, sunt insulæ multæ, etsi non
omnia scribantur in libro hoc.³ Tamen "est quoddam
"prodire tenus si non datur ultra."

Continent
and islands
of Rumania.

Hoveden,
404. a. 7.

Nomina autem quarundam principalium insularum
sunt hæc;⁴ insula de Creta quæ magna est et fertilis:

Orete,

¹ Hoveden proceeds as if making
an extract, "Sequitur cum," &c.

² quia . . . Turkizæ] om. H.

³ In mari . . . hoc] om. H.

⁴ "Insula Siciliæ, quæ est regis
"Siciliæ," MS. Hoveden, wrongly,
as the question is of islands in the
Greek sea

A.D. 1191. et in medio insulæ hujus videtur mons magnus qui Hoveden,
404. a. 9.
 dicitur mons Cameli; insula de Rodes, insula Cipre,
 insula Mil,¹ insula Hiscopiæ, insula Yski in qua crê-
 cit copia speciei quæ dicitur Mastic; insula Ysame,
 insula Ynixea, insula Stuple,² insula Cuverfu, insula
 Serfent, insula Sasent, insula quæ dicitur Fale de Com-
 par, insula Andre, insula Tine. Sed in multis insu-
 larum istarum nemo habitat propter metum piratarum.
 In quibusdam illarum habitant piratæ. Sunt et aliæ
 in mari Græco insulæ quæ hic non scribuntur.

Philip stays a few days at Rhodes; Deinde cum rex Franciæ transisset caput Turkiæ, Hoveden,
404. a. 17.
 transivit inde usque insulam de Rodes, quæ est oppo-
 sita capiti Turkiæ; et mansit ibi per aliquot dies in
 civitate quæ dicitur Rodes, quam Herodes ædificavit
 qui et fecit amputari caput Sancti Johannis Baptistæ.
 Indeque transivit ad civitatem quæ dicitur Niniven,
 quæ est in ipsa insula de Rodes.³

Rhodes is a third part of the way from Acre to Brundisium. Et inter insulam de Rodes et Rumaniam est mare Hoveden,
404. a. 19.
 latum per viginti milliaria ad æstimationem nautarum.
 Et cum perventum fuerit ad insulam de Rodis præter-
 itur tertia pars viæ maris inter Accaron et Brand-
 usium; et mille sexcenta milliaria computantur inter
 Accon et Brandusium; et inter Marsiliam et insulam
 Siciliæ computantur mille sexcenta milliaria. Et insula
 de Sardena est in medio viæ, inter Marsiliam et Siciliam.
 Et inter Siciliam et Accaron mille sexcenta milliaria
 computantur. Et insula de Creta est in medio viæ
 inter Siciliam et Accaron.

Voyage from Marseilles to Acre. Sciendum est quod si prosper ventus fuerit navi- Hoveden,
404. a. 20.
 gantibus a Marsilia versus Accaron, dimittent insulam
 de Sardena, et Siciliam et Cretam a sinistris navigii
 ita longe quod nullam illarum videre possint; via
 autem illa gravior est et securior. Sed videant ne
 nimis se trahant in dexteram partem navigii, propter

¹ *insula Mil*] om. H.

² Here Hoveden inserts, "Insula
 " de Mil, insula de Quales."

³ *Indeque . . . Rodes*] om. II.

Hoveden,
404. a. 30.

Barbariem et alias insulas in quibus pagani habitant.¹ Sed galeæ non audent nec possunt viam illam ire, quia si tempestas supervenerit, ex facili submergerentur; et ideo oportet eos ire semper juxta terram nisi faciat serenum valde.²

A.D. 1191.
fo. 173 r°.Hoveden,
404. a. 53.

Et qui voluerit transire a capite Turkiæ per costeram Rumanie, transibit usque ad montem excelsum qui dicitur Serfent; et ad montem illum incipit Brachium Sancti Georgii, per quod navigatur usque ad Constantinopolim. Deinde est Malveise, mons magnus; deinde Caput Meliæ, mons magnus: deinde Gulfus de Witun, et super gulfum illum est castellum bonum et forte quod dicitur Maine, et gens mala ibi est.³ Et super gulfum illum est civitas episcopalis quæ dicitur Curun; et ibi crescit copia olivarum, adeo quod dicitur quod in toto mundo non est locus ubi sit [tanta] copia olei olivarum. In exitu autem ejusdem gulfi de Witun est civitas episcopalis antiqua, deserta nunc, quam Rogerus rex Siciliæ destruxit eo quod piratæ ibi habitabant, et dicebatur Muszun: ante cujus introitum duæ sunt insulæ magnæ, quarum una Sapiëntia, alia insula dicitur Vulturum, quia⁴ inibi est copia vulturum. Deinde non longius a terra quam per viginti milliaria, est quædam rupis periculosa in mari, rotunda, humilis, et sæpe operitur aqua maris, quæ dicitur Triffar; et inter rupem illam et Muszun computantur quinquaginta milliaria. Estque valde necessarium quod naves non elongent se a terra, donec præterierint illud periculum. Deinde quasi per centum milliaria a rupe est insula quæ dicitur Serfent, quæ est Margariti, et aliæ duæ insulæ ibi sunt, quarum una dicitur Chefeleine, et altera Jagent: et utraque est Margariti.

Voyage from
Cape of
Turkey; by
Scarpanto,
Cape Mallo,Cephalonia,
Zante.

¹ *habitant*] sub imperatore Africæ, ins. H.

² *nisi . . . valde*] om. H.

³ *et gens . . . est*] om. H.

⁴ *quia*] pro, B.

De Roberto Wiscard.

A.D. 1191.
Account of
Robert
Wiscard.

He aspires
to conquer
Constanti-
nople.

Deinde est portus Wiscard. Et notandum est quod Robertus Wiscard fuit natione Normannus, et diu conversatus in curia Henrici¹ regis Angliæ filii Willelmi Bastard, qui regem Haraldum devicit in prælio et regnum obtinuit. Iste Robertus, licet esset de familia regis, tamen pauper erat; et licet probus fuerit, tamen nullam gratiam potuit invenire ditandi apud regem illum. Unde factum est ut ipse natale suum desereret. Itaque Romam petiit, et a summo pontifice² consilium et licentiam accepit barbaras nationes sibi subjugare. Confluebat ergo ad eum multitudo magna virorum, tum propter animi sui audaciam, et corporis probitatem; tum propter manus suæ irreprehensibilem largitatem. Et ipse et Rogerus frater ejus procedentes venerunt in Apuliam, et videntes eam terram bonam et fertilem, et homines terræ illius Griffones armis indoctos abundare divitiis, cupiebant subjugare eam sibi: et sæpius cum hominibus illis dimicantes tandem vicerunt, et totam Apuliam et Calabriam, et Capuam cum principatu subjugaverunt sibi, eripientes de manibus imperatoris Romanorum. Et Robertus Wiscard dedit Tancredo³ filio suo Apuliam et Calabriam et Capuam cum principatu; et ipse ad majora anhelans naves et galeas sibi parare fecit, jactans quod ipse subjugaret sibi imperium Constantinopolitanum.⁴ Et cum omnia itineri suo necessaria essent parata, intravit naves et galeas cum uxore sua, et

Hoveden,
404. a. 49.

¹ As Robert Wiscard began his career in Italy in 1059, and died in 1085, it is clear that the author transcribed by our Chronicler was altogether wrong in his chronology.

² Nicolas II. in 1059.

³ Tancred was not the son of Robert Wiscard, but of Eudes the Good Marquis and Emma daughter of Robert. The son meant here is

Roger, the offspring of Robert's second marriage.

⁴ Hoveden here inserts the story of Robert and his two sons fighting three battles the same day against the emperor of Constantinople, the pope, and the emperor of the Romans; the Normans being in each case victorious.

Hoveden,
404. b. 13.

cum viris suis armatis et bellicosis; et insulas, scilicet Cretam, et Cuverfu, et Rodes, et alias insulas multas in circuitu sibi subjugavit; pervenitque ad portum qui nunc nomine suo nuncupatur Portus Wiscardi. Quo cum progredere voluisset, et intrare in Rumaniam, Alexis imperator Constantinopolis mandavit uxori prædicti Roberti Wiscardi, quod si ipsa virum suum neci tradidisset, et sic terram suam de eo liberasset, ille duceret eam in uxorem et faceret eam imperatricem Constantinopolis. Concessit itaque mulier illa voluntati imperatoris, et dedit marito suo venenum bibere; et mortuus est: et ibidem in insula quæ usque in hodiernum diem dicitur Portus Wiscardi sepultus fuit, et totus exercitus ejus dissipatus est. Mulier autem ejus fugit ad imperatorem Constantinopolis, qui eam conventionem ei adimplevit. Illam namque sibi desponsavit et coronavit in imperatricem; et cum omnis solemnitas in desponsatione et coronatione facta esset, ita quod ipsa diceret imperatori, "Jam perfecistis mihi totam conventionem meam," imperator ostendit coram imperatrice et omni populo conventionem quam ipse et illa fecerant, et qualiter illa morti tradiderat maritum suum Robertum Wiscard: et quæsit ab eis iudicium de ea et consilium; et omnes judicaverunt eam ream mortis, et accenso rogo illa injecta est, et in cinerem redacta.

A.D. 1101.
Conquests
of Robert
Wiscard.

fo. 173 v^o.

His death.

Fate of his
wife.

Hoveden,
404. b. 31.

Interim Rogerus frater prædicti Roberti Wiscardi debellavit Siculos, et totam sibi subjugavit Siciliam, et factus est comes Siciliæ. Sicilia insula est magna, et tunc temporis, antequam prædictus Robertus eam debellasset, fuit inhabitata paganis et erat de dominio imperatoris de Marrohc. Sed præfatus Rogerus eripuit eam de manibus illius, et expulsis inde paganis legem Christi in ea primus introduxit.¹ Deinde obiit filius

Roger
Wiscard
conquers
Sicily.

¹ Hoveden adds, "et fecit in ea
" duos archiepiscopatus et sex epi-
" scopatus." Wrongly, for the
archbishopric of Palermo was the

only metropolitan see in Sicily until
1166, when Messina was raised to
that rank.

- A.D. 1181. Roberti Wiscardi sine prole; cui ipse dederat Apuliam et Calabriam et Capuam. Rogerus autem comes Siciliæ uxorem duxit, de qua genuit filium quem appellavit Rogerum, cui ipse dedit Apuliam et Calabriam faciens inde ducatum, et dedit illi Capuam. Deinde obiit Rogerus frater Roberti Wiscardi, et Rogerus filius ejus successit ei in comitatu Siciliæ. Hoveden, 404. b. 23.
- Roger II. count of Sicily.
- Lewis VII. and Eleanor visit Roger II. Et paulo post contigit quod Lodovicus rex Francorum et Alienor regina uxor ejus iter Jerosolimitanæ profectionis susciperent; et cum venissent in Siciliam, præfatus Rogerus comes Siciliæ cum debito honore et gaudio suscepit eos, et ad preces illius rex Franciæ Lodovicus fecit illum regem, coronam capiti suo imponens; et iste Rogerus ita factus est primus rex coronatus de Sicilia.¹ Qui uxorem duxit, ex qua genuit duos filios et unam filiam. Filius ejus primogenitus vocatus est Rogerus, et alter Willelmus, et filia vocata est Constantia. Filius ejus primogenitus factus est dux Apuliæ, et nesciente patre suo et inconsulto uxorem duxit, de qua genuit filium quem nominavit Tancredum. Qui decessit ante patrem suum.²
- Lewis VII. makes him king.
- His eldest son Roger was father of Tancred.
- William I. king of Sicily. Deinde obiit Rogerus rex Siciliæ pater ejus, et Willelmus filius ejus successit ei in regnum.³ Willelmus ille uxorem⁴ duxit, de qua unicum filium genuit quem Willelmum appellavit. Iste Willelmus ultimus successit patri suo in regnum,⁵ et duxit in uxorem Johannam filiam Henrici regis Angliæ, filii Matildis imperatricis. Et Willelmus iste decessit sine prole; sed ante obitum suum constituit Constantiam amitam suam, uxorem Henrici regis Alemannorum, hæredem
- William II. marries Johanna of England. Hoveden, 404. b. 45.

¹ Hoveden omits the story about Lewis VII., and simply says, "et paulo post per consilium comitum et baronum suorum fecit se coronari in regem Siciliæ." Roger accepted the title of king first from the antipope Anacletus, Sept. 27, 1130, and was crowned the Christ-

mas following. He was invested by pope Leo IX. with the kingdom in 1139, July 25.

² In 1149.

³ In 1154.

⁴ Margaret, daughter of Garcias Ramirez, king of Navarre.

⁵ In 1166.

Hoveden,
404. b. 49.

regni Siciliæ; et fecit omnes primates regni sui jurare fidelitates prædictæ amitæ, ut ipsi illam in dominam et reginam susciperent si ille sine prole decessisset.¹

A.D. 1191.
Constance
appointed
his succe-
sor.

Hoveden,
404. b. 53,
shorter.

Quo sine prole decedente, Rogerus de Andria et cæteri fideles terræ miserunt pro Constantia domina sua; sed priusquam illa venisset Tancredus comes de la Liche, filius Rogeri filii Rogeri regis, transgressus fidem et sacramentum quod juraverat prædictæ Constantiæ, usurpavit sibi regnum Siciliæ et Apuliam et Calabriam et Capuam cum principatu. Quod cum Henrico regi Alemannorum et Constantiæ uxori ejus nunciatum esset, miserunt archiepiscopum Maguntinum et Henricum Teste, cum magno exercitu in Apuliam ad subjiciendum eam sibi, ut supradictum est, nihil profecerunt in expeditione illa.

On the
death of
William II.
Tancred
usurps the
crown.

Henry VI.
invades
Apulia.

Hoveden,
406. a. 11.

Sequitur:² cum rex Franciæ præterisset insulam de Rodes, transivit usque in Romaniam, habensque illam in dexteram partem navigii, transivit per montem magnum qui dicitur Caput Meliæ. Deinde venit in Gulfo de Withun, et transitum fecit per castellum quod dicitur Maine. Deinde venit in eodem gulfo ad civitatem episcopalem quæ dicitur Curun; et deinde venit ad Muzun, civitatem desertam, quæ est in fine ejusdem gulfi. Deinde præteriit insulam de Triffar: deinde venit ad insulas quarum una dicitur Chefeline, et alteri Fale de Compar. Et illæ duæ insulæ dicuntur Portus Wiscardi: et prope exitum insulæ quæ dicitur Fale de Compar est villa parvula, modo deserta, quam Robertus Wiscardus ædificavit, et ibidem obiit, et ibidem sepultus multo tempore jacuit.³ Et in Romania ex opposito est quædam villa quæ dicitur Sanctus

fo. 174^{ro}.
Philip
passes
Cape Malto,
the gulf of
Kolokythia,
Maina,
Coron,
Modon,
Strivall,
Cephalonia,
Ithaca (Val
di Com-
(pare).

¹ Hoveden, instead of following the text, here inserts the account of the campaign of Henry VI in Naples, as it appears p. 306 below. "Magno congregato exercitu . . . regi Siciliæ."

² This *Sequitur* does not occur in Hoveden, who gives the following particulars with slight abridgment.

³ *et prope . . . jacuit*] om. Hoveden.

A.D. 1191. *Saint Salva-* Salvator, et in insulis illis est habitatio piratarum; et *tor opposite* *the Port of* *Wiscardi.* inter insulas illas est via navium satis periculosa, et ideo est via securior de foris; et tunc dimittendæ sunt insulæ illæ in dextera parte navis.¹ *Hoveden,*
405. a. 17.

Philip *arrives at* *Corfu.* Sequitur:² cum rex Franciæ recessisset a Portu Wiscardi, venit ad insulam de Cuverfu, quæ distat a portu Wiscardi per centum milliaria, ad introitum insulæ de Cuverfu.³ In illa parte protenditur quædam arena a capite insulæ usque Romaniam per medium introitus; et alta est, ita quod super arenam illam mare non habet plus profunditatis quam quatuor ulnas et dimidium ulnæ. *Hoveden,*
405. a. 18.

Account of *Corfu.* Insula autem de Cuverfu magna est et fertilis, et reddit domino suo imperatori Constantinopolis singulis annis quindecim quintallos auri purissimi de redditu annuo: et pondus quintalli est pondus centum librarum auri. In insula de Cuverfu sunt civitates et castella multa et bona; et insula illa distat a Romania per sex milliaria, in illo loco ubicunque mare latius fuerit inter illam et Romaniam. Sed antequam perventum fuerit ad exitum insulæ via navium est ita stricta inter insulam illam et Romaniam quod homo audiri potest ab una ripa in alteram. Et via illa satis periculosa est, tum quia tam stricta est, tum quia eundum est per circumamfractus et diverticula; et dicuntur Districtæ de insula de Cuverfu. Et insula de Cuverfu non habet plusquam quinquaginta milliaria in longitudine,⁴ et ideo securius est dimittere insulam illam a dextris navigii et ire per magnum pelagus. Et antequam perventum fuerit ex toto ad exitum illius *Hoveden,*
405. a. 22.

Advice to
mariners.

¹ *et inter . . . navis]* om. *Hoveden.*

² *Sequitur]* om. *Hoveden*, who still abridges.

³ *Cuverfu]* versus terram Sulis, add. H.

⁴ Here *Hoveden*, who otherwise

greatly abridges the text, adds, "et
" inter Cuverfu et Apuliam compu-
" tantur c. milliaria, et facile vide-
" tur Cuverfu ab illis qui sunt in
" Apulia, sed non e converso, quia
" Apulia terra bassa est et Cuverfu
" terra alta."

Hoveden,
462, a. 20,

insulæ, invenitur ex parte Romanæ castellum desertum A.D. 1188.
 quod dicitur Butentrost secus littus maris, in quo Butrinto;
 Judas proditor natus fuit. Et cum perventum fuerit
 in fauce maris fere ad exitum insulæ de Cuverfu,
 transeundum est ante quandam civitatem antiquam et
 desertam quæ dicitur Caszope, et stat in insula de Cassiope
 Cuverfu secus littus maris; in qua est tanta copia
 serpentium et aliorum vermium venenosorum quod
 nemo ausus est prope illam applicare. Deinde est
 exitus insulæ de Cuverfu quasi per tria milliaria dis-
 tans a prædicta civitate vermium; et in opposita
 parte super littus maris in Romania est civitas deserta
 quæ dicitur Sancta Karentet. Et ibi est bonus portus, Sancta
 latus et profundus; sed ad exitum illius portus in fauce Quaranta;
 maris est quædam rupis similis turri semiruptæ quæ
 stat in littore maris, et protenditur longe per medium
 portus sub undis, et occupat fere medietatem portus.
 Et via navium est non longe a ripa insulæ de Cuverfu.
 Et cum perventum fuerit in magnum pelagus tres in-
 sulæ sunt juxta insulam de Cuverfu, quarum exterior
 dicitur Fanum. Deinde quasi per quadraginta millia- Fano;
 ria ab insula de Cuverfu est mons magnus in capite
 Rumanæ qui dicitur Paxo. Et a monte illo usque ad Paxo;
 civitatem archiepiscopalem quæ dicitur Ortrente, quæ Otranto;
 est in Apulia, computantur quinquaginta milliaria; a
 monte illo usque ad civitatem archiepiscopalem quæ fo. 174 v.
 dicitur Brandusium computantur centum milliaria.
 Et a monte illo qui dicitur Paxo incipit gulfus de
 Venetia, qui habet in longitudine mille et quinquaginta
 milliaria, et in latitudine centum milliaria. Brindisi;
 Euntes autem per gulfum illum ad Venetiam, dimit-
 tent Rumaniam et Sclavoniam et Istriam in dexteram
 partem illorum: et in sinistram partem illorum dimit-
 tent Apuliam, in qua sunt portus quorum nomina hæc Porta of
 sunt; primo portus qui dicitur Leuke, deinde portus Apulia,
 Leuce Leuce

[Leuke] Deinde portus qui dicitur Castre, ins. H.

- A.D. 1191. qui dicitur Ottrente ; deinde portus de Liche, deinde Hoveden,
404. a. 47.
 Otranto, portus de Brandiz, deinde portus de Monople, deinde
 Lecce, Brin- portus Sancti Nicholai de Bar, deinde portus de Trane,
 di, Mono- portus de Barlet, deinde portus de Sipunt,
 poli, Bari, deinde portus de Bestie, deinde portus de Tremule,
 Trani, qui est ultimus portus de Apulia. Deinde est Ortona,
 Barletta, quæ est primus portus de terra Venetiæ ; deinde por-
 Siponto, tus de Acre, deinde portus de Bescare, deinde portus
 Viesti, de Acune, deinde portus de Ravenne, deinde est
 Termola. Venetia civitas nobilis et portus bonus.
- Philip asks Ports of
leave to Venice,
cross Ortona,
Apulia. Atri,
Pescara,
Ancona,
Ravenna.
- Sequitur ; rex Franciæ moram fecit in insula de Hoveden,
404. a. 54.
 Cuverfu, et misit nuncios suos ad Tancredum regem
 Siciliæ habendi licentiam transeundi per terram suam,
 et ibi exspectavit reditum nunciorum suorum quos
 miserat ad regem Tancredum.
- April 10. ¹ Interim eodem anno, quarta feria ante Cœnam Hoveden,
398. b. 2.
 Clement III. Domini, scilicet quarto idus Aprilis, eodem die quo
 dies. rex Angliæ recessit cum navigio suo a civitate Mes-
 sana versus terram Jerusalem, dominus papa Clemens
 Tertius obiit: cui successit in papatum per communem
 cardinalium electionem Jacinctus cardinalis, natione
 Romanus ; et in die Paschæ consecratus est, et vocatus
 est Cœlestinus papa tertius. Et ipse in crastino con-
 secrationis suæ, scilicet feria secunda in hebdomada
 Paschæ, coronavit Romæ Henricum regem Alleman-
 norum in imperatorem Romanorum, et Constantiam
 uxorem suam in imperatricem.
- Celestine III. suc- He crowns
ceeds. Henry VI.
- Henry VI. ² Novus itaque imperator ille, magno congregato Hoveden,
404. b. 55.
 besieges exercitu, intravit terram Tancredi regis Siciliæ, et ipse
 takes it. Salerno and cum uxore sua obsedit Salernum civitatem magnam ;
 et infra quindecim dies reddita est ei et uxori suæ

¹ The account of the election of Celestine III. has been given above, p. 161, in nearly the same words. The date of Clement's death is given variously, Mar. 26, Mar. 28, Apr. 2, and Apr. 4. See Jaffé, 886.

² An abridgement of this paragraph is given by Hoveden as an appendix to the account of the family of Robert Guiscard, above.

Hoveden,
406. a. 3.

civitas illa, et ille dimittens ibi uxorem suam processit, et obsedit civitatem Neapolim. Ubi cum moram per sex septimanas fecisset, amisit fere totum exercitum suum ex corruptione aeris,¹ et ipse gravem incidit infirmitatem ita quod pene moreretur. Et videns quod ipse nihil posset proficere adversus civitatem illam, recessit inde, profectus ad civitatem suam quæ dicitur Melan. Quod cum Salernitani audissent, iniecerunt manus in dominam suam Constantiam imperatricem. et tradiderunt eam Tancredo regi Siciliæ.

A.D. 1191.
He besieges
Naples.

He is driven
back by pes-
tilence to
Milan.

Hoveden,
398. b. 20,
shorter.

Eodem anno Willelmus Eliensis episcopus et domini regis cancellarius et totius Angliæ justitiarius, qui jam uno anno ante obitum Clementis papæ exstiterat totius Angliæ legatus, Romam misit² ad Coelestinum papam, et factus est iterum legatus ab eo totius Angliæ. Qui post festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ magnum congregavit exercitum, et contra prohibitionem Johannis comitis Meretonii fratris regis, obsedit castellum Lincolnæ, et abstulit Girardo de Camvilla comitatum Lincolnæ, et tradidit illum Willelmo de Stuteville custodiendum.

Celestine
III. renews
the legation
of the
bishop of
Ely.

After mid-
summer he
besieges
Lincoln.

Hoveden,
398. b. 24,
shorter.

Interim castellum de Notingham et castellum de Tikehil reddita sunt Johanni comiti fratri regis, qui post redditionem castellorum illorum mandavit cancellario quod nisi ille celerius recessisset cum exercitu suo a castello Lincolnæ quod obsederat, et permisisset præfatum Gerardum castellum illud et vicecomitatum suum pacifice possidere, ipse eum visitaret in virga ferrea, et cum exercitu magno, cui ille resistere non valeret. Exterritus itaque cancellarius mandatis Johannis comitis, recessit inde cum exercitu suo, et reconciliatione fidelitatem juravit prædicto comiti Johanni, et quod ipse redderet ei omnia castella Angliæ, si frater suus Ricardus rex non rediret de peregrinatione sua, et si

John takes
the castles
of Notting-
ham and
Tikehill,
and relieves
Lincoln.

The chan-
cellor makes
peace with
John.

¹ This pestilence took place in the month of August. *Godefr. Mon. (ap. Freher. i. 357).*

² The date of the renewal of Longchamp's legation is uncertain. See *Epp. Cantuar.* p. lxxxiii. note 1.

A.D. 1191. ille decesserit sine prole.¹ Et fecit omnes comites et
 2a. 175 r. primates regni jurare eidem Johanni fidelitates sicut
 Peace be- hæredi regni, si rex sine prole decesserit.
 tween John
 and the
 chancellor.

¹ There are four accounts of these transactions, from the harmonizing of which the true chronology of the year may be arrived at. (1) The text, which is very short, and contains no documents. (2) Hoveden, who is equally brief in narration, but gives a copy of a final agreement between John and Longchamp. (3) Richard of Devizes, who is more satisfactory, but whose dates are inconsistent with one another, and his final agreement altogether different from Hoveden's. (4) William of Newburgh. From the last it appears that Longchamp's proceedings against Lincoln took place early in the spring, before the death of pope Clement III. was known, or the archbishop of Rouen landed; and that on the news of the pope's death, Longchamp made a truce with John. Clement III. died about the end of March, and the news of his death would reach England about three weeks later. The truce would then be made about the end of April. Now the final agreement given by Richard of Devizes bears date April 25, at Winchester, and is without doubt the document drawn up on the occasion of the truce mentioned by William of Newburgh; but Richard gives it as if it were concluded at a second conference at Winchester on the 28th of July. On the 27th of April the archbishop of Rouen landed; and both parties were again in arms about midsummer. This campaign was concluded, according to Newburgh, by a second treaty between

John and Longchamp. This was probably the result of the conference dated by Richard of Devizes July 28, and was embodied in the document given by Hoveden. We thus get the dates, First siege of Lincoln, and capture of Nottingham and Tickhill, over before the middle of April. First peace of Winchester, in which arrangements were made for an arbitration, and John was recognized as the heir of England, April 25. Arrival of the archbishop of Rouen with fresh commission and instructions, April 27. Resumption of hostilities, second siege of Lincoln, &c., after June 24. Second peace of Winchester, in which the arrangements about the castles were completed, and in which there is no recognition of John as the heir, July 28. Sir Francis Palgrave (*Introd. to Rolls of Curia Regis*, i. p. lv) supposes that both acts were drawn up at the same time. But this is disproved, (1) by the inconsistency of the dates of R. of Devizes; (2) by the fact that the treaty of April 25 is provisional, and that given by Hoveden is final; (3) that the treaty ascribed by R. Devizes to April 25 contains no mention of the archbishop of Rouen, whilst in the one given by Hoveden he occupies, as the representative of the king, the most important part in the negotiations. This theory, I think, obviates all difficulties, and only requires that for the treaty of July 28, Hoveden's copy should be substituted in R. of Devizes for the one he has given, which is really

Eodem anno Gaufridus Eboracensis electus nuncios suos Romam misit ad Coelestinum papam, et gratiam invenit in conspectu ejus, adeo quod electionem suam ratam habuit, et eam confirmavit, et pallium ei misit, et mandavit Willielmo¹ Turonensium archiepiscopo, ut illum consecraret, et ita factum est. Præterea idem papa Coelestinus mandavit Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo, et in vi obedientiæ præcepit,² ut ipse professionem et obedientiam canonicam faceret prædicto Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, non obstantibus litteris quas a Clemente papa prædecessore suo impetravit de absolutione: et si id facere secundum mandatum apostolicum vel differret vel nollet, idem papa in mandatis dederat prædicto Eboracensi archiepiscopo ut ipse illum canonica severitate compelleret ad id faciendum ei et ecclesiæ Eboracensi.

A.D. 1191.
Geoffrey is
consecrated
by the pope,
and conse-
crated by
the arch-
bishop of
Tours.

The pope
orders Hugh
of Durham
to make his
profession
to Geoffrey.

Sciens ergo Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus gravamen quod prædictus Gaufridus, dum adhuc esset electus, illi in curia Romana perquirere nitebatur, ad sedem apostolicam appellavit de suspecto gravamine, et personam suam et ecclesiam Dunelmensem, et omnes ecclesias ad eam pertinentes, cum personis et capellanis, et clericis, posuit sub protectione domini papæ et Romanæ ecclesiæ. Cum autem prædictus archiepiscopus consecratus esset, idem Dunelmensis episcopus iterum appellavit ad summum pontificem in eadem forma.

Hugh ap-
peals to the
pope against
this order.

Consecratus itaque Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepi-

Hoveden,
209. a. 24.

that of April 25, as it is dated, although given under July 28. Probably the writer supposed the latter treaty to be only a renewal of the former; and it is evident that the writer of the text supposed that homage was done to John as the heir at the final treaty, shortly before the return of Geoffrey.

¹ Willielmo] Bartholomæo. Geoffrey was consecrated at S. Martin's,

Tours, Aug. 18, 1191, by Bartholomew, archbishop of Tours, Henry of Bayeux, and six or seven other bishops. R. de Diceto, 663.

² The letter of pope Celestine to Geoffrey, in which he lays this command on bishop Hugh, is dated May 11, 1191; it is printed in the *Monasticon*, vi. 1188. Hoveden, who seems to write rather in Hugh's interest, does not mention this.

A.D. 1191. August. Geoffrey is forbidden to land in England, by the chancellor. scopus ad ecclesiam suam ire festinavit, cumque ad Witsand venisset ad transfretandum in Angliam, prohibitum est ei ex parte Willelmi Eliensis episcopi, domini regis cancellarii et totius Angliæ justitiarum, ne in Angliam contra sacramentum quod regi fecerat venire præsumeret;¹ sed Eboracensis archiepiscopus noluit parere prohibitioni justitiarum Angliæ; unde idem justitarius præcepit eum comprehendi, et arctius custodiri, si ipse in Angliam applicuisset.

Hoveden, 399. n. 34.

September. The archbishop persists in landing at Dover, and makes his way to a monastery. Neo tamen Eboracensis archiepiscopus a proposito suo flecti potuit, sed, quam citius potuit, per consilium et mandatum Johannis comitis Meretonii fratris ejus, venit in Angliam et applicuit apud Duvere mense Septembris,² et servientes prædicti justitiarum Angliæ irruerunt ut eum caperent; sed ille inde præmunitus, antequam de navi exiret mutavit vestes, et ascenso equo in cujus velocitate confidebat, ad monachorum cœnobium ejusdem villæ confugit: et erat quasi hora diei sexta, et monachi missam jam inchoaverant. Et cum legeretur epistola, et perventum esset ad locum in quo per beatum apostolum dicitur, "qui conturbat Gal. v. 10. "vos portabit judicium suum, quicumque est ille," et alibi in eadem epistola, "utinam et abscedantur qui vos conturbant;" intravit archiepiscopus ecclesiam confidens in Domino, et pro munere gratum habebat prænosticum illud, referens illud ad perpetuam beatitudinis vitam, et cancellarii venturam confusionem.

Hoveden, 399. n. 35.

He is besieged in church by the chancellor's men. Ministri autem cancellarii quos ipse miserat, ut comprehenderent illum, obsederunt ecclesiam in qua ille erat, per circuitum, ita quod ipse exire inde non poterat nisi per manus illorum. Quadam vero die³

Hoveden, 399. n. 42.

¹ The chancellor's prohibition addressed to the sheriff of Sussex, forbidding him to suffer Geoffrey to land, is dated at Preston, July 30. Gir. Camb. (*Angl. Sac.* ii. 390); R. de Diceto, 662.

² Sept. 14. R. de Diceto, 663; Gervase, 1576.

³ Geoffrey was arrested on the 18th of September. R. de Diceto, 663; Gerv. 1576.

Hoveden,
399. a. 51.

post celebrationem missæ, dum adhuc idem archiepi-
scopus indutus sacerdotalibus vestibus staret ad altare,
funesti satellites illi intraverunt ecclesiam, et manus
violentas injecerunt in eum et extraxerunt extra ecclē-
siam, et sic extractum, immo distractum, viliter et
ignominiose duxerunt per lutum platearum et per
vicos. Populus autem stabat clamans, "O ignavi!
" quare ita ducitis eum? quid mali fecit? dimittite
" eum, dimittite! archiepiscopus et sacerdos est, et
" regis filius et frater regis."

A.D. 1191.
(Sept. 18.)
He is ar-
rested at the
altar.

Hoveden,
399. b. 1.

Satellites vero non exaudientes vocem populi duxe-
runt eum ad castellum de Dover, et tradiderunt eum
Mathæo de Clere constabulario, ad custodiendum.

He is im-
prisoned in
Dover castle.

Hoveden,
399. b. 2,
much
shorter.

Quod cum Johanni comiti fratri ejusdem archiepi-
scopi Eboracensis nunciatum esset, quæsiuit a cancel-
lario, si per eum hæc facta fuissent. Cui ille respon-
dit, "Per me quidem hæc facta sunt. Archiepiscopus
" enim ille, contra sacramentum quod fecerat regi
" fratri suo, in Angliam venit, et ideo eum cepi." Jo-
hannes vero comes iterum mandavit cancellario quod
dimisisset fratrem suum archiepiscopum Eboracensem
libere abire; sub juramento affirmans quod nisi ille
dimiserit eum celerius abire, ipse liberaret eum in
manu potenti et brachio extenso.

John com-
mands the
chancellor
to release
Geoffrey.

fo. 175 v.

Hoveden,
399. b. 2.

Auditis itaque minis comitis Johannis, cancellarius
non erat ausus eum diutius retinere, sed permisit eum
abire.¹ Gaufridus itaque archiepiscopus Eboracensis,
cum exiret a carcere venit Lundonias, et conquestus
est comiti Johanni fratri suo, et archiepiscopo Roto-
magensi, et universis episcopis Angliæ, de injuria quam
cancellarius ei intulit.

(Sept. 24.)
The chan-
cellor re-
leases Geof-
frey, who
complains to
John and
the bishops.

Et cum idem cancellarius id emendare noluisset,
prædictus archiepiscopus et sex episcopi cum illo sen-

¹ On the eighth day after his capture, that is, the 26th of September, (R. de Diceto, 663,) he was led back to S. Martin's, and on the third day after, Sept. 28, set out for

London. Gervase, 1577. He was received at London, in S. Paul's, by the bishop, on the 2nd of October. R. de Diceto, 663.

A.D. 1181.
(Oct. 6.)
The bishops excommunicate the chancellor.
tentiam excommunicationis tulerunt in cancellarium, et publice denunciaverunt eum excommunicatum. Johannes vero comes, et justitiiarii quos rex in recessu suo eidem cancellario associavit, et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis et omnes episcopi Angliæ, sæpius rogabant cancellarium et monebant et exhortabantur, ut ipse satisfaceret prænominato Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo, et Henrico filio ejus, de injuriis quas ipse fecit eis.

John summons him to meet him at Reading.

Quod cum ipse minime facere voluisset, Johannes frater regis et comes, et episcopi Angliæ statuerunt illi diem peremptorium¹ apud Redinges, ut ulterius sententia differri non posset, nisi ille ad illum diem, vel infra, satisfaceret Eboraci archiepiscopo, et Dunelmensi episcopo, et filio ejus, de injuriis quas ipse fecit illis. Ante diem vero statutum venerunt illuc prædictus comes Johannes et episcopi Angliæ, et ibidem per tres dies moram fecerunt expectantes de die in diem adventum cancellarii, qui nec ad eos venire voluit nec nuncium mittere, sed moram faciens apud Windeshoveres, parvipendens illos et minas eorum. Cumque prædictus comes et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis et episcopi Angliæ, qui convenerant apud Radinges, vidissent quod cancellarius nec ad eos venire voluit nec nuncium mittere, Lundonias² ire properarunt.

The chancellor fails to attend the meeting, and stays at Windsor. John returns to London.

The chancellor hurries after him, and a skirmish takes place between their servants.

Quod cum cancellario nunciatum esset, et ipse Lundonias ire festinavit. Et dum iter facerent, contigit quod familia cancellarii et familia comitis Johannis obviaverunt sibi; et congressum facientes pugnaverunt acriter, et familia cancellarii interfecit quendam militem Johannis comitis, nomine Rogerum de Plania. Et dum præliarentur, familia comitis Johannis prævaluit

Hovedam, 399, b. 16, much shorter.

Hovedam, 399, b. 17.

¹ The summons is for Oct. 5, at the bridge of Lodene, near Reading. R. de Diceto, 663. The solemn excommunication took place on Sunday the 6th (Ib. 664). On the

Monday John went to Staines to meet the chancellor, who fled to London. Gir. Camb. 394, 395.

² On the Monday, Oct. 7th. R. de Diceto, 664; Gir. Camb. 397.

Hoveden,
398. b. 31,
shorter.

adversus familiam cancellarii; et jam cancellarius cancellatus fugit loricatus et Lundonias venit. Sed inclusit se in turri Lundoniarum cum suis, sed pauca invenit in ea quæ sufficerent sibi et hominibus suis ad manducandum.

A.D. 1191.
Oct. 7.
The chancellor shuts himself up in the Tower.

Hoveden,
399. b. 23.

Et Johannes comes et fere omnes episcopi et comites et barones Angliæ sequentes illum, eadem die, scilicet tertia die post octavas Sancti Michaelis, intraverunt Lundonias, et in crastino¹ prædictus Johannes comes et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, et omnes episcopi et comites et barones, et cives Lundoniæ cum illis, convenerunt in atrio ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli, et accusabant cancellarium in multis, et præcipue in injuriis quas fecit archiepiscopo Eboracensi, et Dunelmensi episcopo, et Henrico filio ejus. Socii autem prædicti cancellarii quos rex associaverat ei in regimine regni, accusabant eum in multis, dicentes, [ut] dixerunt, quod ipse omnia sine illorum consilio et assensu faciebat.

John arrives in London, Oct. 7.

Oct. 8.
Meeting at S. Paul's to accuse the chancellor.
fo. 176 r.

Hoveden,
399. b. 31,
with variations.

Archiepiscopus vero Rothomagensis et Willelmus Marescallus comes de Strugul tunc primum ostenderunt coram populo litteras regis sigillatas, per quas dominus rex mandavit a Messana, quod si cancellarius stultum quid fecerit quod esset in detrimentum regis et regni, prædictus archiepiscopus Rothomagensis loco illius institueretur; et quod præfatus Willelmus Marescallus, et Gaufridus filius Petri, et præfati justitarii, scilicet Hugo Bardolf et Willelmus Bruere, quos rex in recessu suo associaverat cancellario, prædicto archiepiscopo Rothomagensi associarentur in regimine regni.

The archbishop of Rouen and William Marshall exhibit their commission, to supersede the chancellor.

Hoveden,
399. b. 32,
with variations.

Placuit ergo Johanni fratri regis, et omnibus episcopis, et comitibus ac baronibus, et civibus Lundoniarum, quod cancellarius ille deponeretur a regimine regni; et quod loco illius fungeretur Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, sicut rex in litteris suis mandavit.² Ita factum

The barons determine to depose the chancellor from the justiciarship.

¹ Tuesday, Oct. 8th. R. de Diceto, 664; Gir. Camb. 398.

² See above, p. 157, note. R. de Diceto, 659; Gir. Camb. 396.

A.D. 1191. Oct. 8. **The bishops and barons confirm the liberties of the citizens of London, who recognise John as successor to the crown.** est ad securitatem regni. Johannes comes frater regis et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, et omnes episcopi, comites et barones regni qui aderant, concesserunt civibus Lundoniarum communam suam, et juraverunt quod ipsi eam et dignitates civitatis Lundoniarum custodirent illibatas, quamdiu regi placuerit. Et cives Lundoniarum et episcopi et comites et barones juraverunt fidelitates regi Ricardo, et Johanni comiti de Meretone fratri ejus salva fidelitate, et quod illum in dominum suum et regem reciperent, si rex sine prole decesserit.

Hoveden, 398. b. 48, with variations.

Oct. 9. **The chancellor swears to resign the castle, and gives up the Tower and Windsor. Joy of all men at his fall.** Cancellarius vero cancellatus et ita depositus¹ juravit quod redderet comiti Johanni castella Angliæ; et statim reddidit ei turrim Lundoniarum, et castellum de Windeshovere, et alia quædam sed non omnia.

Hoveden, 398. b. 50.

Gavisi sunt homines regni de abjectione cancellarii. Ipse enim illos male tractaverat, et omnes tam clericos quam laicos injustis vexationibus aggravaverat. Auctoritate namque legationis suæ ad episcopos, et abbatias et prioratus, et ad alias religiosorum domus hospitaturus veniebat, in tanta superfluitate hominum et equorum et canum et avium, quod domus in qua una nocte hospitabatur, vix infra annos tres subsequentes in pristinum statum redire posset. Clericis vero et laicis ecclesias ac terras, prædia et possessiones suas abstulit; quas aut nepotibus suis et clericis et servientibus erogabat, aut damnabiliter retinebat, aut in usus extraordinarios dilapidabat. Infelix ille, quare non cogitabat quod quanto quis altiora appetit, tanto magis ad inferiora descendit, si ignoraverit mensuram suam? Et cur non consideravit quod ille moriturus esset, et quod negatum est summis stare diu; et quod quanto gradus sit altior, tanto lapsus est gravior? Et quare non cogitabat infelix ille quod cum in ultimo

Locum, Phara. i. 78.

¹ On the Wednesday. Gir. Camb. 398. The same day the chancellor was compelled to give hostages for the surrender of the castles. On Thursday the 10th he was deposed from the justiciarship.

examine omnes astabunt ante tribunal Summi Judicis, Dominus ab unoquoque suæ villicationis rationem aut sui principatus honorem requiret?

A.D. 1191.
October.

Quid plura? Cancellarius ille de abiectione sua confusus¹ transfretare proposuit, et accedens ad Dover, novum transfretandi modum invenit. Depositis namque masculorum vestimentis, fœminarum indumentis se induit, quarum sexum semper odit; et sic ad littus accedens transfretare voluit. Sed comperta malitia sua, quædam mulieres injecerunt manus in eum et male tractaverunt. Unde Hugo de Nonant, Coven-
trensensis sive Cestrensis episcopus, in hac forma scripsit.

The chan-
cellor comes
to Dover,
and tries to
escape in a
woman's
dress.

fo. 176 v.

Epistola Hugonis de Nunant.

Hoveden,
400. a. 1.

" Quæ litterarum apicibus adnotantur, posteritati profecto
" signantur, ut pagina paucorum testatione roborata multorum
" consulat saluti vel prospiciat indemnitati. Quod proponitur
" fit quasi in exemplum. Multa enim scribuntur ad cautelam,
" ut fiant; et multa scribuntur ad cautelam, ne fieri debeant,
" ut in ecclesia Christi in utraque proficiat, et cum appe-
" tenda inquirat, et cum fugienda qui declinat. Casum itaque
" Eliensis episcopi ad notitiam omnium litteris instantibus
" volumus in posterum consignari, ut in hoc exemplari sem-
" per inveniat et humilitas quod prosperet, et superbia
" quod formidet. Erat enim ille vir magnus inter omnes
" occidentales, utpote qui regni potestatem et sedis apo-
" stolicæ auctoritatem quasi ambidextera habebat, et regis
" sigillum super omnem terram gestabat, ut pro sua volun-
" tate posset impetrare, et de potestate valeret omnia affectu
" mancipare, ut pariter rex et sacerdos haberetur² et esset;
" nec inveniri posset qui suæ audere resistere voluntati.
Ps. xxxvi. 9. " Quoniam ipse dixit et facta sunt, mandavit et inventa

Letter of
Hugh of
Nunant on
the case of
the bishop
of Ely.

His nume-
rous offices,
and great
power and
arrogance.

¹ On Friday, the 11th of October, the chancellor fled to Dover, (Gir. Camb. 399,) proceeding as far as Bermondesey on the way, (R. de Diceto, 665); and on Saturday he was conducted to Dover by the bishop of Rochester and the sheriff of Kent. On the Thursday follow-

ing he was arrested and brought back; on the 29th of October finally left England, and landed in Normandy. Diceto, 664. Giraldus; however, places his arrest on Saturday the 12th.

² haberetur] alerentur, B.

A.D. 1181.	" sunt universa. Hujus erant regis gaus, thesaurus totus	Handen.
October.	" et fœcus generaliter omnia, ut jam non regis sed sua diceretur res quolibet, quas sub climate nostro nateret. Quia	221. a. 11.
His luxury.	" nec venatio in terra, nec piscatio in aqua, nec volatus [erat] in aere, qui suis non cogerentur mensis servire: ut partitas videretur fuisse elementa cum Deo, cœlum tantum cœli Domino relinquens, cœtera tria suis viribus ab abasibus et lasibus profutura reservans. Hinc omnes filii nobilium serviebant vultu demisso, nec in oculum aspicere audebant, nisi forte ab eo vocati; et si aliter attentassent	
His grandfather was a serf in the Beauvaisis.	" aculeo pungebantur quem dominus præ manibus habebat, memor pie recordationis avi sui, qui servilis conditionis in pago Belvacensi, et aratrum ducere et boves castigare consueverat. Qui tandem ad remedium libertatis ad fines	
The chancellor has apprehended his family by marriages.	" Normannorum transvolavit. Hujus nepotes et consanguineos sive quascunque propinquas de paupere tugurio procreatas, comites et barones regniq[ue] magnates sibi summa aviditate in matrimonium copulare ardebant, gloriosum reputantes quocunque titulo familiaritatis ejus gratiam adquisissent; nec erat rusticus qui agrum, nec civis qui fundum, nec miles qui prædium, nec clericus qui ecclesiam, nec monachus qui abbatiam affectaret, quem in jus et potestatem ejus transire non oporteret. Licet enim flexo genu tota Anglia ei deserviret, ad Francorum tamen libertatem semper aspirans, [apud] Oximum ¹ milites deservientes omnemque suam familiam abstrahabat, et spreta in omnibus gente Anglorum, stipatus agmine Francorum et Flandrensium pompaticè incedebat, subannationem in naribus, cachinnum in ore, derisum in oculis, supercilium in fronte gestans pro lamina sacerdotis. Hic ad augmentum et famam sui nominis emendicata carmina et rhythmos adulatorios comparabat, et de regno Francorum cantores et joculariores muneribus allegerat, ut de illo canerent in plateis; et jam dicebatur ubique quod non erat talis in orbe. Et revera si tempus Cæsaris fuisset, se Deum vivum cum Tiberio ² appellari fecisset. Cum autem rex ei oomites addidisset ut communi consilio saltem majora ordinaret, regni consortem nequam habere sustinuit, quia gloriæ suæ plurimum crederet dedecorari, si cujusquam mortalis consilio indigeret. Solus ergo regnabat et solus imperabat, et a mari usque ad mare timebatur ut Deus, et si plus dicerem, non mentirer; quia Deus longanimis est et misericors, ipse autem	
fo. 177 r.	"	
His contempt of his colleagues.	"	

¹ Oximum] Oxonium, H.| ² Tiberio] Liberio, B. H.

- Horodan, 400. a. 47. " in impetu male cuncta ministrans, nec in faciendo justitiam habere nec in sustinendo moram potuit expectare. Hic etiam domini sui litteras omnes et mandata spernebat, ne dominum habere videretur, ne cuiquam subesse crederetur, qui omnes quasi servos suos fecerat voluntatis. Cum igitur Anglia sub tam gravi onere et jugo importabili diutius laborasset, ingemiscens tandem propter opera, clamavit in fortitudine, et ascendit clamor ejus ad Dominum, et respexit eam Oriens ex alto, Qui superborum et sublimium colla propria virtute conculcat, et humiles exaltat in magnitudine brachii Sui. Sol nempe justitiæ, licet bonis luceat et malis, tamen alta sapientium oculos excæcat, et mentes humilium Sui luminis illustratione fecundat. Licet igitur cancellarius ille fortiter legisset, summis stare diu negatur, et 'qui stat' 'videat ne cadat,' et, 'qui se exaltat humiliabitur,' et, quia ante ruinam exaltatur cor: tamen humane conditionis, quæ nunquam in eodem statu permanet, et oblitus volubilitatis rotæ quæ infimum erigit, et elevatum deprimere consuevit: nunquam tamen voluit intelligere ut bene ageret, sed ini-
- A.D. 1191. October. He contemned the king's commands.
- He wickedness provoked the judgment of God against him.
- He arrested the archbishop of York in church.
- Ps. xxxvi. 5. " quitatem meditans in cubili suo, ubi cum ministris nequitie et pueris suis dormiebat, in conclavi apposuit iniquitatem super iniquitatem, ut propter superbiam et abusiones suas, digno Dei judicio seipsum præcipitaret in potentias Domini, ut jam non esset locus misericordiæ, sed soli potestati, nec esset tempus miserendi ejus vel parcendi. In se enim dictavit sententiam, adversum se exasperavit vindictam, qui tantum facinus affectavit, in quo non hominibus tantum sed Dei magis iracundiam provocavit. Licet enim Dominus omnia possit, innocentem tamen condemnare non potest, nec nocentem salvare nisi parcat, si forte nocens fuerit obstinatus. Menti enim obstinatus et fronti meretricis durities opponitur veri adamantis ut conterat. Quia nihil tam forte est quod fortiori non cedit. Cum igitur homo tantus ab homine non posset superari, Pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis venit in adjutorium populo Sui supplicanti, et in affectum ejus manum misericordiæ supponens, dejecit illum a potestate, et accusatorem, immo destructorem, in eum spiritum vertiginis induxit, a quo reverti non posset vel resurgere: sed ita induravit cor, excæcavit mentem, infatuavit consilium illius, quod archiepiscopum Eboracensem in ecclesia prius obsedit, postmodum cepit, captum violenter extraxit, abstractum fortiter vinxit, vinctum turpiter traxit, tractum incarcerationavit. Et licet concursus populorum fieret dicentium, 'Justus homo et amicus Dei, quid fecit ut ducatur ad carcerem, et innocens san-
- 2 Cor. i. 3. " 'guis ejus sine causa damnatur?' Tamen non potuit audiri

- A.D. 1191. " pietas ubi superbia regnabat, nec auditus est Deus, ubi Hoveden. 494. b. 25.
 October. " imperabat tyrannus. Veniebat enim a partibus Normanniæ
 The arch- " archiepiscopus ille præfatus cum baculo pastorali, cum
 bishop, with " mitra et annulo et superhumerali, quod novis temporibus
 his pall, the " pallium nuncupatur. Et cum [esset] filius regis Henrici bonæ
 son of " recordationis, et frater regis modo regnantis, frater quoque
 Henry II. " comitis Meretoni Johannis, nihil tamen ei potuit prodesse
 and brother " regis sanguis. Cumque esset noviter consecratus, nihil
 of the king, " eum potuit juvare novitas sacramenti. Ergo per totam
 was arrested " insulam a laicis publice proclamatur, 'Pereat qui cuncta
 to the indign- " 'perdere festinat, opprimatur ne omnes opprimat; quia si
 nation of all. " 'in viridi hæc fecit, in arido quid faceret?' Et ecce,
 " Spiritu Sancto ducente, ab aquilone et mari, et ex omni
 " parte insulæ totius, concurrunt et confluent universi, ut
 " archiepiscopus ille posset liberari. Verum funiculis pecca-
 " torum suorum ipsum constringentibus cancellarium, et con-
 " scientia sua eum vehementius accusante, fugit loricatus a
 " facie hominum, et se abscondit et inclusit cum hominibus
 " suis in turre Lundoniarum. Nobis autem introeuntibus
 " civitatem in sero, plures de familia ejus armati cum gladiis
 " exsertis nos invaserunt, et nobilem de nostris militem inter-
 " fecerunt et plures vulneraverunt. Mane ergo habito con-
 " silio cum omnibus fere magnatibus regni, præsentem domino
 " Johanne fratre regis et Rothomagensi et Eboracensi archi-
 " episcopis, episcopis etiam præsentibus Dunelmensi, Lun-
 " doniensi, Wintoniensi, Bathoniensi, Rofensi, Norwicensi,
 " Lincolnensi, Herefordensi, Menevensi, Coventrensi: facto-
 " que consilio coram omni populo totius civitatis; præsentibus
 " quoque justitiariis domini regis et approbantibus, de con-
 " silio universorum statuimus, ne talis de cætero in regno
 " dominetur, per quem ecclesia Dei ad ignominiam et popu-
 " lus ad inopiam esset redactus. Ut enim cætera omittam,
 " ipse et garciones sui totum regnum exhausserant, nec viro
 " balteum nec fœminæ monile remanserant, nec annulus nobili,
 " nec quodlibet pretiosum alicui etiam Judæo. Thesaurum
 " quoque regis exinaniverat prorsus, ut in omnibus scriniis
 " vel sacellis nihil præter claves de toto isto biennio posset
 " inveniri. Tertia autem die promisit firmiter, et per quen-
 " dam de suis fidem dedit corporaliter, cunctis videntibus,
 " quod insulam non exiret donec castella quædam, quæ in
 " manu sua habebat, et advenis et ignotis personis et ob-
 " scuris tradiderat, quæ ibi nominata fuerunt, libera penitus
 " resignasset et personis nominatis tradi fecisset. Super quo
 " et fratres suos et camerarium suum obsides dedit, et Can-
 " tuariam properavit, ut ibi sicut decebat crucem acciperet
 " peregrinationis, et deponeret crucem legationis, quam per
- The chan-
cellor in
alarm fled to
London.
- Council of
the barons
against him.
- Charges of
extortion
against him.
- On the third
day he prom-
ised to
surrender
the castles
that he held;
and went to
Canterbury.

Hoveden,
491. a. 1.

“ annum et dimidium anni, post mortem papæ Clementis in
 “ præjudicium Romanæ ecclesiæ et detrimentum Anglicanæ
 “ portaverat. Omnes enim ecclesias Angliæ crux illa redemit,
 “ id est, ad redemptionem coegit. Nec fuit aliquis immunis
 “ qui crucis illius stigmata non sentiret; et si forte alicujus
 “ episcopi domum intraret, ab eo scire poteritis, quod centum
 “ vel ducentarum marcarum pretio sua constitit procuratio.
 “ Cum autem in castello Doroberniæ aliquot diebus com- He deter-
 “ moratus fuisset, immemor suæ professionis et fidei obliga- mined to
 “ tionis quam fecerat, oblitus etiam fratrum suorum quos escape from
 “ obsides datos morti turpiter exponebat, navigare proposuit. Dover.
 “ Et cum hoc aperte non auderet, novum genus fraudis in-
 “ venit, et sese fœminam simulavit, cujus sexum semper
 “ odit, vestemque sacerdotis in habitum convertit meretricis.
 “ Proh dolor! Vir factus est fœmina, cancellarius cancel- He dressed
 “ laria, sacerdos meretrix, episcopus scurra. Ergo de castello himself as a
 “ superiori licet claudus esset, pedibus prælegit properare woman.
 “ ad littus, tunica fœminea viridi et enormiter longa, pro fo. 178 r.
 “ tunica sacerdotis hyacinthina indutus: cappam habens ejus-
 “ dem coloris deformiter manicatam pro planeta, peplum in
 “ capite pro mitra; pannum lineum in manu sinistra quasi
 “ ad vendendum, pro maniplo; virgam venditoris in dextera,
 “ pro baculo pastorali. Talibus ornatus antistes descendit ad
 “ mare: et qui lorica militis sæpius gestare solebat, mira
 “ res quod tam effœminati animi factus, animum fœmineum
 “ prælegit. Cum enim sederet in littore supra petram, His adven-
 “ piscator quidam, qui statim deputans scortum propius ac- ture on the
 “ cessit; et qui quasi nudus de mari descenderat calefieri beach.
 “ cupiens, occurrit ad monstrum, et manu sinistra collum
 “ complectens, dextra partes inferiores rimatur. Cumque
 “ tunicam subito sublevasset, et nimis inverecunde ad partes
 “ verecundas manum extendisset audacter, femoralia sensit et
 “ virum in fœmina certis argumentis agnovit: et vehementer
 “ admirans, retro prosiliens totus attonitus, voce magna pro-
 “ clamat, ‘Venite omnes et videte mirabilia, quia in fœmina
 “ ‘inveni virum.’ Protenus servientes ejus et notî qui sta-
 “ bant a longe accesserunt, et modesta quadam violentia eum
 “ repulerunt et increpaverunt ut taceret: tacuit ergo piscator
 “ et clamor ille quievit, et sedebat Hermaphroditus exspec-
 “ tans. Interim mulier quædam exiens de villa, videns pan-
 “ num lineum quem ille vel illa gestabat, expositum vendi-
 “ tionî; et procedens coepit inquirere quanti esset pretii et
 “ pro quanto ulnam daret? Ille non respondebat quia lin- He could
 “ guam Anglicanam prorsus ignorabat. At illa magis insta- not speak
 “ bat; et continuo supervenit alia mulier, illud idem instanter English
 “ inquirens et plurimum iustans ut ei pretium venditionis

A.D. 1191.

October.

He held his
legation un-
lawfully.

He deter-
mined to
escape from
Dover.

He dressed
himself as a
woman.
fo. 178 r.

His adven-
ture on the
beach.

He could
not speak
English

- A.D. 1191. "aperiret. Cumque ille nihil responderet sed magis sub- Hoveden, 461. a. 24.
October. " rideret, coeperunt interesse et fabulari et querere quidnam
" esset. Et dolum arbitantes projecerunt manus ad peplum
He is dis- " quo facies tegebatur, et submittentes a naso usque deorsum
covered and " viderunt faciem hominis nigram et noviter rasam. Stupes-
mobbed. " cere coeperunt ultra modum, et corruentes eum ad terram,
" voces ad sidera tollunt, dicentes, 'Venite lapidemus hoc
" monstrum qui deformavit utrumque sexum.' Et facta est
" statim multitudo virorum ac mulierum extrahentium de
" capite peplum et trahentium eum prostratum in terram per
" manicas et caputium, per arenam ignominiose, et per saxa
His servants " non sine lésione. Servientes autem sui bis aut ter im-
are unable " petum fecerunt in turbam ut eum liberarent; sed non
to rescue " potuerunt, quia totus populus eum insatiabili corde per-
him, and he " sequens, et verbis et alapis et sputis, pluribusque modis
is put in " turpiter tractavit per totam villam; et sic tractatum, immo
prison. " distractum, in quodam cellario tenebroso eum quasi sub
" carcerali custodia inclussit. Tractus est igitur qui traxerat;
" captus est qui vi ceperat; ligatus est qui ligaverat; incar-
ceratus qui incarceraverat; ut secundum quantitatem culpe
" commensurabilis videretur quantitas poenae. Factus est
" igitur opprobrium vicinis suis valde, et timor notis suis,
" et datus est in derisum omni populo. Utinam se solum
Let the pope " sacerdotem, et non ipsum sacerdotium inquinasset. Pro-
fu. 173 v^o. " videat ergo ecclesia Romana, ut tantus excessus taliter
and king " puniatur, ne delictum unius contaminet omnes, et sacer-
employ " dotalis auctoritas non vilescat. Et rex Angliæ nihilominus
fitter minis- " prospiciat, ut talem regno suo personam præficiat, per
ters in " quam regalis dignitas honoris servetur, et juris sui detri-
future. " menta non sentiat: sed de ejus regimine clerici et populus
" merito debeant gloriari."¹
After eight " Post octo vero dies Johannes frater regis comes Hoveden, 462. a. 7.
days' im- " Meretonii præcepit illum liberari a carcere, et dedit illi
prisonment " licentiam transfretandi. Et abiens transfretavit in
he is re- " Flandriam;² et cum iter ageret, quidam de terra illa
leased, and " injecerunt manus in eum et in homines suos, quibus
goes to " ipse injuriam fecerat cum esset justitiarius in Anglia,
Flanders " et tenuerunt donec ille satisfecit eis. Et procedens
(Oct. 29). " inde venit Parisius, et dedit Mauricio³ episcopo sexa-

¹ Hoveden has here a letter of Peter of Blois to Hugh of Nunant in defence of William Longchamp.

² "apud Wissant," add. Hoveden.

³ Maurice of Sally, bishop of Paris, 1160—1196.

Hoveden,
402. a. 12.

ginta marcas argenti, pro eo quod ipse eum recepit
ibidem in metropolitana ecclesia cum sollemni proces-
sione.

A.D. 1191.
November.
He is re-
ceived at
Paris with a
procession.
He is treated
in Nor-
mandy as
excommuni-
cated.

Hoveden,
402. a. 13.

Deinde rediit Normanniam, sed per mandatum Ro-
thomagensis archiepiscopi, habebatur pro excommuni-
cato: et omnis locus in quo ipse venit in archiepi-
scopatu Rothomagensi cessavit a Divino officio, quam-
diu ipse ibi moram fecit. At ille nuncios suos misit
ad Coelestinum papam, et ad dominum suum regem
Angliæ, significans eis qualiter Johannes comes Mere-
tonii et complices ejus ejecerunt eum a regno, et de-
posuerant eum a regimine regni quod rex illi tradi-
derat in recessu suo. Et conquerens sibi de vindicta,
restitutionem ablatorum petebat, offerens se juri pari-
turum, et quod si domino regi factum ejus et expensæ
non placuissent, ipse in omnibus satisfaceret voluntati
ejus. Unde summus pontifex ad iracundiam provo-
catus, universis archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliæ in
hac forma scripsit.

He com-
plains to the
king and the
pope.

Epistola Coelestini papæ.

Hoveden,
402. a. 27.

" Coelestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus
" fratribus archiepiscopis [et] episcopis, in regno Angliæ con-
" stitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum dilec-
" tus in Christo filius noster Ricardus, illustris rex Anglorum,
" quando se suscepto signo crucis ad ulciscendam injuriam
" Redemptoris accinxit, tutelæ regni sui, quod, sicut vir intel-
" ligens et requirens Deum, curas duxit obsequio postponen-
" dum, sub apostolica protectione dimiserit; statum regni sui
" ac jura et honorem ipsius tanto majori studio conservare
" volumus et debemus, quanto de nostra protectione confisus,
" majoribus periculis personam suam et res, pro exaltatione
" sanctæ religionis exposuit, et in obsequio Creatoris lauda-
" bilius, faciente Domino cum eo signum in bonum, atque
" ferventius, sicut ex suis operibus elucescit, cognoscitur se
" habere. Quoniam igitur quidam tam contra regnum ipsum
" quam contra venerabilem patrem vestrum, Willelmum Elien-
" sem episcopum, apostolicæ sedis legatum, cui regnum tra-
" didit gubernandum, per Johannem comitem Meretonii et
" quosdam alios, acceperimus attentata, quæ nonnulla in se
" suspicionis continent argumenta; et si vera sunt non in

Dec. 2.
Letter of
Celestine
III. in
behalf of the
chancellor.

Pa. lxxvi.
17.

He has
heard of the
outrage
committed
on the
legate.

A.D. 1191.
Dec. 2. "modicam noscuntur sedis apostolicæ contumeliam redun- Hoveden,
402. a. 42.
"dare; eidem præsumptioni tanto maturius duximus occur-
"rendum, quanto ex mora ipsa jam dicto regi et Jerosolimi-
"tanæ Terræ gravius detrimentum, ac nobis cum ecclesiæ
"Romanæ major inde posset ignominia provenire. Proinde
"universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, et in
"virtute obedientiæ præcipimus, quatenus si, prout nobis in-
"sonuit, memoratus comes vel alius in jam dictum episcopum
"manus violentas injicere, vel eum capere, vel juramentum
"quodlibet ab eo per violentiam extorquere, seu eum in cap-
"tione tenere, seu statum regni a serenitate regia in recessu
"suo dispositum aliquatenus immutare, vel præsumperit, vel
"præsumpsit; omni dilatione vel simultate postposita, conve-
"nientes in unum, prædictum comitem et omnes antedictæ
"præsumptionis consiliarios, auctores, complices et fautores,
"accensis candelis et pulsatis campanis, omni appellatione et
"excusatione, nec non et personarum acceptione postpositis,
"publice nuncietis vinculo excommunicationis astrictos; et
"tamdiu faciatis sicut excommunicatos ab omnibus arctius
"evitari; nec non et in terris eorum, et in aliis quas inva-
"serint, præter poenitentias et parvulorum baptismata, Divina
"penitus, sine appellationis obstaculo prohibeatis celebrari
"officia; donec jam dicto legato, tam a captione quam a jura-
"mento primitus absoluto, et regno ipso in statum a præno-
"minato rege in recessu suo dispositum reformato, cum tes-
"timonio litterarum ipsius legati et vestrarum pariter, ad
"sedem veniant apostolicam absolvendi: scituri pro certo
"quod si in hujus nostri executione præcepti negligentes
"fueritis aut remissi, non minorem in vos, præstante Domino,
"duximus ultionem, quam si prædicta injuria personæ nostræ
"vel uni de fratribus nostris esset irrogata. Datum Late-
"rani, quarto nonas Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno
"primo."

He com-
fo. 179 r.
mands the
bishops to
excommuni-
cate the
offenders if
the story is
true;

and to put
an interdict
on their
lands until
amends are
made to the
legate.

Auctoritate igitur litterarum istarum summi ponti- Hoveden,
402. b. 2.
ficis, prædictus Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, domini
regis cancellarius et apostolicæ sedis legatus, in hac
forma scripsit Hugoni Lincolnensi episcopo:

The chan-
cellor writes
to the bishop
of Lincoln.

"Willelmus, Dei gratia Eliensis episcopus et apostolicæ Hoveden,
402. b. 10.
"sedis legatus, et domini regis cancellarius, venerabili fra-
"tri et amico carissimo Hugoni eadem gratia Lincolnensi
"episcopo, salutem et sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quanto
"de dilectione vestra pleniorē fiduciam tenemus, majorem
"et constantiam in vobis invenimus, tanto confidentius dis-
"cretionem vestræ et ecclesiæ Dei negotia et domini regis et
"nostra committimus exsequenda: confidentes in Domino de

Hoveden,
402. b. 15.

" vobis, quod præceptis apostolicis et nostris vestra caritas A.D. 1191.
 " pontificaliter respondebit. Mandamus igitur vobis, et in vir- He com-
 " tute obedientiæ, et ea qua fungimur auctoritate præcipimus, mands him
 " quatenus ad exsequendum mandatum apostolicum universis to assemble
 " archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliæ destinatum, cum cæteris the bishops
 " fratribus nostris omnibus vel quibusdam cito conveniatis, to execute
 " ne diutius in ecclesiam Dei et sacerdotes ejus laicalium the pope's
 " iniquitas malignetur, ne tergiversatione vel dissimulatione mandate.
 " aliqua, illorum malitia vobis debeat imputari. Ea vero quæ
 " dominus papa mandavit de persona Johannis comitis Mere- He dates
 " tonii, temperavimus, differentes usque Dominicam qua can- the excom-
 " tatur 'Esto mihi;' ne si forte resipiscere vellet interim, munication
 " nos inde gratias redderemus, et pro eo in conspectu domini of John
 " papæ et domini regis Angliæ athletæ Crucifixi, preces fun- until Febru-
 " deremus affectuosas, ut delicti sui veniam mereretur, et ary 16, 1192;
 " modis omnibus honori et commodo ejus, salva fidelitate but orders
 " domini regis et honestate sacerdotii nostri, operam adhi- the excom-
 " beremus et diligentiam efficacem. In terris autem excom- munication
 " municatorum nulla Divina celebrari permittatis, præter bap- of his other
 " tisma parvulorum et pœnitentias. Nomina autem eorum qui enemies.
 " a domino papa excommunicati sunt, et a nobis denunciata,
 " quorum factum ita evidentia facti notorium sit quod nulla
 " possunt tergiversatione inficiari, hæc sunt:

fo. 179 v°.

" Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus:
 " Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus,
 " Hugo Coventrensis episcopus,
 " Willelmus Mariscallus,
 " Gaufridus filius Petri,
 " Willelmus Briewere,
 " Hugo Bardolf,
 " Ricardus Malebise, et Hugo frater ejus,
 " Jacobus et Symon, et filii Symonis,
 " Symon de Averanches,
 " Rogerus filius Ramfrai, et Gillebertus, et Ramfrai
 " filii ejus,
 " Girardus de Camvilla,
 " Comes de Saresbiri,
 " Johannes Marescal,
 " Comes de Mellent,
 " Gillebertus Basset,
 " Thomas Basset,
 " Henricus de Ver,¹
 " Gosselinus filius Ramfrai,

Names of
the persons
who are to
be excom-
municated.

¹ Henry de Vere had suffered greatly from the hostility of the chancellor. R. de Dic. 664.

A.D. 1191.
He excommunicates Stephen Ridel and Benedict the usurper of the king's seal: also John archdeacon of Oxford, and Hugh bishop of Coventry. He excepts Hugh Bardolf, conditionally.

"Stephanus Ridel, cancellarius comitis Mercetonii, quem ut *Hoveden*
408. b. 37.
"episcopus et ejus legatus vobis denunciavimus excommunicatum; et magistrum Benedictum,¹ qui sigillum domini regis contra statuta regni et contra prohibitionem nostram ferre præsumit. Et Johannem Oxoniensem archidiaconum.² Ad hæc vero vobis specialiter et districte præcipimus, quod Hugonem Coventrensem episcopum, quem sollemniter excommunicavimus, non solum quia verbo et opere episcopum diffitetur, et quia in manu piæ recordationis Baldewini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi fidem corporaliter præstitit de comitatibus non tenendis; verum quia totius subversionis regni Angliæ consulator existit manifestus et auctor; et turbator pacis, et contra regiam dignitatem et utilitatem publicus advocatus,—publice denunciatis excommunicatum, et faciatis ab omnibus arctius devitari, ne de cætero ovis tam morbida gregem Domini valeat inficere et maculare. Hugonem vero Bardolf, qui ad præsens non fuit in ejectione et captione nostra, a prædicta denunciatione excipimus, ut statim admonitus Willelmo de Stutevilla resigna[verit] castella de Scardeburc, et de tota Everwicsire, et de Westmerek lande quæ detinet occupata. Prohibeatis etiam universis in nostra diocesi constitutis, sub interminatione anathematis, ne pro illis qui se in Angliâ justitiosos gerunt, aliquid faciant, nec in aliquo violentæ et usurpæ obediunt potestati. Vale."

Item litteræ ejusdem Eliensis episcopi ad Hugonem Lincolnensem episcopum.

The chancellor's letter to Hugh bishop of Lincoln, to seize the possessions of John archdeacon of Oxford.

"Willelmus Dei gratia Eliensis episcopus, apostolicæ sedis *Hoveden*
408. a. 1.
"legatus et domini regis cancellarius, Hugoni eadem gratia Lincolnensi episcopo, venerabili fratri et amico, salutem. Ea qua fungimur auctoritate vobis mandamus, et in virtute obedientiæ præcipimus, quod archidiaconatum³ et omnes redditus Johannis Oxenefordensis archidiaconi, in manu vestra saisiatis, et recipiatis et conservetis, donec apostolicum aut nostrum mandatum inde acceperitis. Quoniam cum avunculo Rotomagensi archiepiscopo, Pilato, pacem et tranquillitatem regni Angliæ perturbat, et malum quodcunque

¹ Probably Benedict of Sansetum, afterwards made bishop of Rochester, in 1215. He has been confounded with Benedict abbot of Peterborough, who is thus sometimes placed in the list of chancellors. See also Epp. Cantuar. 331.

² John of Contances, dean of Rouen, afterwards bishop of Worcester, 1196–1198.

³ archidiaconatus] archidiaconum, B.

Hoveden,
402. a. 2.

" potest domino regi et regno, tanquam hostis regni, et nobis A.D. 1191.
" perquirat: unde auctoritate domini papæ, illum excommuni- December
" cationis vinculo innodavimus. Vale."

Hoveden,
402. a. 2.

Similiter Eliensis episcopus prædictus scripsit aliis The bishops
quibusdam episcopis Angliæ in quibus habebat fidu- decline to
ciam, sed nullus eorum executus est mandatum do- execute the
mini papæ nec suum. Non enim habebant eum pro mandate,
legato neque pro regis cancellario. Sed præfatus Ro- and the jus-
thomagensis archiepiscopus et cæteri justitiiarii domini ticiars seize
regis dissesiaverunt eum ab episcopatu suo, et redditus the property
illius ad opus regis collegerunt, propter thesauros regis of the see of
quos ipse adnihilaverat. Ely.

Interim Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus in communi Hugh of
audientia episcoporum Angliæ appellavit ad dominum Durham re-
papam contra Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, news his
et seipsum et episcopatum suum, et omnes redditus appeals
suos, et ecclesias cum personis et capellanis et clericis against
ad ecclesiam Dunelmensem pertinentes, posuit in archbishop
protectione Dei et Romanæ ecclesiæ, et domini papæ, et Geoffrey.
iterum et secundo et tertio idem Dunelmensis episco-
pus appellavit ad summum pontificem contra Ebo-
racensem archiepiscopum coram eodem archiepiscopo: et
aliquando sine illo in Eboracensi ecclesia: et scriptum
appellationis suæ et ratihabitionis suæ poni fecit
super altare ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Eboraci. Sed archi-
episcopus ille nulli detulit appellationi, immo post-
quam semel, et secundo et tertio citaverit¹ prænomi-
natum Dunelmensem episcopum ut veniret ad metro-
politanam ecclesiam Eboracensem ad faciendam sibi
canonicam professionem, et ille venire noluisse, senten-
tiam excommunicationis in eum tulit publice in ecclesia
Sancti Petri Eboraci accensis candelis, et pulsatis cam-
panis; tum quia Dunelmensis episcopus noluit facere

Geoffrey
summons
him again,
and at last
excommuni-
cates him.

¹ Hoveden gives a letter of Geof- | to appear on the Monday after
frey to Hugh, in which he cites him | Michaelmas at York.

A.D. 1191.
December.
Demands of
archbishop
Geoffrey.

canonicam professionem ei sicut metropolitano suo, tum quia idem episcopus Dunelmensis jura ecclesiæ Eboraci, scilicet Le Rom-peni, et processiones hebdomadæ Pentecosten de ecclesiis Hoveden, et Hemmingeburg, et de Scipwith et de Brentingeham et de Kirkebi et de Homdeleis et de Alvertona et de Wal-dintona detinuit occupatas. At Dunelmensis episcopus sententiam quam Eboracensis archiepiscopus in illum dederat pro nulla habuit, nec illam tenere voluit; tum quia ipse consecratus fuit Romæ a summo pontifice, tum quia post appellationem suam ad dominum papam factam lata fuit in eum sententia illa.

Hugh treats
his sentence
as null.

December.
The justiciars go to
Canterbury
for an election to the
see.

Reginald
bishop of
Bath is
elected by
the monks
in opposi-
tion to the
justiciars,
who seize
the revenues
of the see.

Reginald
dies.

Eodem anno mense Decembris, post festum Sancti Nicholai, Johannes frater regis comes Meretonii, et Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et quidam episcoporum Angliæ, convenerunt Cantuariæ in metropolitana ecclesia, ad eligendum eidem ecclesiæ archiepiscopum. Et facientes ibidem more solito cum monachis ejusdem ecclesiæ cum deliberatione sermonem; monachi illi inconsultis episcopis, immo contradicentibus, elegerunt Reginaldum Batoniensem episcopum sibi et ecclesiæ Cantuariensi in archiepiscopum. Et assumentes eum renitentem, et quadam modesta acclamatione contradicentem, tulerunt ad altare cum "Te Deum" laudamus;" et deinde fecerunt ei professionem canonicam et obedientiam. Archiepiscopus vero Rothomagensis qui tunc erat justitiarius Angliæ, saisiavit in manu regis omnes redditus Cantuariensis archiepiscopi; non enim electionem illam ratam habuit, et non permisit Cantuariensem electum quicquam recipere de redditibus archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis. Tamen ille Cantuariensis electus in ecclesiasticis causis audiendis et diffiniendis se sicut Cantuariensis ecclesiæ metropolitanum gerebat, et misit nuncios suos ad Coelestinum papam pro confirmatione electionis suæ et pro pallio. Sed antequam nuncii sui illuc venissent, ille in quarta-decima die electionis suæ obiit, in vigilia Natalis Do-

mini, et sepultus est in ecclesia Batoniensi, pontificatus sui anno xviii.¹ A.D. 1191.
December.

Hoveden,
404. b. 48.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ, post reedificationem Jopen et Cæsareæ,² dedit utramque, scilicet Jopen cum comitatu suo et Cæsaream, Gaufrido de Lezeinan fratri Guidonis regis de Jerusalem.³ fo. 180 v.
Richard
rebuilds
Joppa and
Cæsarea.
(September.)

Interim nuncii Philippi regis Franciæ moram facientis in insula de Coverfu ut supra dictum est, redierunt a Tancredo rege Siciliæ, cum licentia illius trans-eundi per terram suam. Philip
having re-
ceived per-
mission
from Tan-
cred,

Hoveden,
405. b. 1.

Qui statim galeas suas intravit, et applicuit in Apulia apud civitatem archiepiscopalem quæ dicitur Ocrente, feria sexta, sexto⁴ idus Octobris. lands at
Otranto.
Oct. 10.

Et recedens inde transitum fecit per civitatem episcopalem quæ dicitur La Liche; et per Brundusium civitatem archiepiscopalem, et per villam quæ dicitur La Petrole; et per Monople civitatem episcopalem, et per Bar civitatem archiepiscopalem, ubi requiescit sanctissimum et incorruptum corpus Sancti Nicholai Mireæ civitatis archiepiscopi; et per Trane civitatem archiepiscopalem, et per Barlet burgum bonum, et per Salpe civitatem episcopalem, et per villam quæ dicitur Sanctus Laurentius de Carminan; et per La Truie civitatem episcopalem, et per villam quæ dicitur Sanctus Luctredus: ibi deficit Apulia, et incipit Terra Laboris. He goes by
Lecce,
Brundu-
sium,
Monopoli,
Bari,
Trani,
Barletta,
Salpi,
San Lorenzo,
Troja,
Sant' Eleu-
terio.

Et deinde transitum fecit per Beneventanum civitatem archiepiscopalem, ubi requiescit corpus Sancti Bar- He passes
Benevento,

¹ Reginald Fitz Jocelin was elected on the 27th of November; the election was accepted on the 2nd of December; died on the 26th, and was buried on the 29th.

² Joppa was repaired during the month of September. Richard reached the ruins on the 10th of September, and stayed there until the end of the month. He then encamped on the plain between Joppa and Ramlah, and repaired the Castle of the Plains, which is probably

Yasour. Itiner. 289. The counties of Joppa and Ascalon were settled on Geoffrey of Lusignan before the departure of the king of France.

³ Hoveden adds, "Deinde rex Angliæ firmavit castellum des Plains, et deinde firmavit castellum Maen." We learn from the Itinerarium that this employed the king from October 31 to about November 15, pp. 289, 290.

⁴ sexto] The 10th of October fell on a Thursday.

A.D. 1181.
October.
Maddaloni,
Capua,
Calvi,
Tuscani,
Mignano,
San Ger-
mano,
Monte Cas-
sino, out of
the Terra di
Lavoro;

tholomæi apostoli; et per Matelune civitatem episcopalem, et per Capuam civitatem archiepiscopalem, et per Calve civitatem episcopalem, et per Tyane civitatem episcopalem, et per Caian castellum, et per Mignan castellum, et per Sanctum Germanum villam bonam, quæ est sita ad pedem Montis Cassiæ. Cassia est mons magnus et excelsus, in cujus summitate est nobilis abbatia in qua requiescit corpus Sancti Benedicti, et ipsa est in terra imperatoris Romanorum. Et ad Sanctum Germanum qui est ad pedem montis Cassiæ, deficit Terra Laboris et incipit Campania.

Aquino,
Frosinone,
out of the
Sticilian
territory.

Deinde transitum fecit rex Franciæ per Aquinam civitatem episcopalem, deinde per Frisillum civitatem episcopalem, quæ est ultima civitas regis Siciliæ; et ibi deficit terra illius et incipit terra domini papæ.

He asks
Henry VI.
to grant
him a
passage
through the
Imperial
States.

Et antequam rex Franciæ venisset, misit nuncios suos ad Henricum Romanorum imperatorem; et accepta ab eo licentia transeundi per terram suam, iuravit ei quod fidelitatem portaret ei de vita et membris et terreno honore, et quod auxilium nec fecit nec faceret regi Siciliæ contra eum. Hoveden, c. 2. b. 2.

He passes
by Anagni
and Monte-
fortino to
Rome.

Deinde transivit per Anagne civitatem episcopalem; deinde per Muntfortin castellum; deinde venit Romam. Ibi deficit Campania et incipit Tuscana.

Reception
of Philip at
Rome.

Cum autem Philippus rex Franciæ Romam venisset, Coelestinus papa recepit eum et suos cum summo honore et reverentia, exhibens ei et suis per octo dies, quicquid eis fuit necessarium in expensis. Et pro amore Dei et suo, novum fecit remedium peregrinis, quod illum et omnes qui cum illo venerant absolvit a voto et itinere peregrinationis Jerosolimitanæ, et non tantum illos sed etiam omnes qui post illum venerunt de Terra Jerusalem, quamvis votum non perfecissent, cum per illos non steterit: et dedit eis palmas et cruces. Hoveden, c. 2. b. 2.

Et ostendit regi Franciæ et suis, capita apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et Veronicam, id est, pannum quendam linteum, quem Jesus Christus vultui Sui im-

pressit; in quo pressura illa ita manifeste apparet A.D. 1191
usque in hodiernum diem ac si vultus Jesu Christi ibi
esset; et dicitur Veronica quia mulier cujus pannus
erat dicebatur Veronica.

Rex vero Franciæ, ut occultaret manifestam animi Philip complains to the pope of Richard's treatment of him. fo. 181 r.
sui nequitiam, immemor sacramenti quod fecerat Ri-
cardo regi Anglorum cum exiret de terra Jerusalem
de pace et amore sibi servando, conquestus est de illo
domino papæ et omnibus cardinalibus, dicens de illo
multa inconvenientia; scilicet quod ille fugaverat eum
a Terra Jerusalem, et quod ille noluit pro eo quicquam
facere. Et petiit a summo pontifice licentiam vindi-
candi se de illo in Normannia et aliis terris suis. Sed The pope forbids him to invade Richard's territory.
summus pontifex sciens eum hoc dixisse sola invidiæ
causa, nullam ei licentiam ad malum faciendum in
terra regis Angliæ dare voluit; sed prohibuit sub ana-
themate ne ipse in eum vel in terram suam manum
extenderet.¹

Discedens² itaque rex Franciæ a Roma, transitum Philip's journey home, by Sutri, Viterbo, Montefiascone, Santa Christina, Acquapendente, Radicofani, San Quirico, Buonconvento, Sienna, Castel Fiorentino, Lucos, Capriola, San Leonardo, Luna.
fecit per castellum Sancti Petri; deinde per Sutre
civitatem episcopalem; deinde per Biterve; deinde per
Munt Flascun; deinde per Sanctam Christinam; deinde
per Ekependante; deinde per Redecoc; deinde per La
Briche; deinde per San Clerc; deinde per Bon Cuvent;
deinde per Senes la Velle, civitatem episcopalem, deinde
per la Marche castellum, deinde per Seint Michel cas-
tellum; deinde per castellum Florentin, et per Seint
Denis de Bonrepast; et per Arle le Blanc, et per Arle
le Nair; et per la Grasse Geline; et per le Hospital;
et per Luchek, civitatem episcopalem; et per Munt
Cheverol; et per Seint Leonard, et per Lune male-

¹ Hoveden's account of Philip's visit to the pope is different, and ends with the following:—"Deinde rex Franciæ effecit adversus Romanorum imperatorem quod ipse regem Angliæ caperet, si per

"terram suam transiret." The absence of any such story in the text is one of the indications of the date of the composition.

² Hoveden omits the rest of Philip's itinerary.

A.D. 1191. dictam civitatem episcopalem; et per Sanctam Mariam
 Sarsana, de Sardena; et per Lealvile; et per Punt Tremble;
 Villa Franca, et per Munt Bardun; et per Seint Beneit in monte
 Pontremoli, Bardun; et per Seint Morant in Monte Bardun; ibi
 Monte Barduno, deficit Toscana, et incipit Italia.

Cassio, For- Deinde transivit per Cassem Milan; deinde per Fur-
 nuovo, San nos, et per Seint Domin, et per Florentin, et per Ple-
 Donnino, sence, civitatem episcopalem, et per Papiam civitatem
 Floren- episcopalem; deinde per Morters; et per Roable; et
 suola, per Werzeas civitatem episcopalem, deinde per val-
 Piacenza, lem de Moriana, ita quod paulo ante Natale Domini
 Pavia, venit in Franciam.
 Mortara,
 Robbio,
 Vercelli,
 Maurienne,
 into France.

Proceedings Interim¹ Ricardus rex Angliæ moram faciens in terra
 of Richard Jerusalem, in hebdomada proxima ante Natale Domini
 in Palestine. commisit prælium cum Saladino et gente sua in pla-
 nitie Ramis, et prævaluit exercitus Christianorum; et
 Saladinus cum gente sua victus fugit, et Christiani
 fecerunt stragem magnam ex paganis. Deinde Ricar-
 dus rex Angliæ magnificus triumphator venit Jeroso-
 limam, et pagani qui in ea erant, exierunt contra eum,
 et commiserunt cum eo prælium, et multi illorum

¹ This paragraph seems to contain the last rumours from the Crusade that reached England before the close of the chronicle, and not to represent any facts. There was certainly a battle shortly before Christmas (Itin. 309), but it was little more than a skirmish, and certainly was followed by no flight on Saladin's part. On the 15th of November Richard began to advance on Ramlah, Saladin retiring before him. He was at Ramlah 22 days, to December 8, during which time two skirmishes were fought, on November 25 and December 3. He retired into winter quarters on the 8th at Ramlah. On the 20th he narrowly escaped capture near Telcs-Safih, and the same day Guy of

Lusignan left for Acre. Saladin had retired into Jerusalem, either at the end of November or early in December; and the Crusaders continued quiet at Ramlah and in the neighbourhood until about December 31. They then advanced to Beit Nûba, in the full expectation of taking Jerusalem. There was another skirmish on the 3rd of January, and on the 18th they retreated; but Richard, as is well known, was never encamped within sight of Jerusalem. It would seem, then, that the report embodied in the text must have been one which left Palestine in the first week of January, whilst the army was still at Beit Nûba. Saladin was in Jerusalem at the time.

ociderunt in prælio illo. Cæteri autem pagani fugientes a campo incluserunt se infra civitatem Jerusalem, et rex Angliæ obsedit eam per circuitum. Quarta die sequenti pagani, qui in civitate Jerusalem erant, videntes quod non haberent auxilium vel succursum a Saladino, obtulerunt regi Angliæ civitatem Jerusalem si ipse dedisset eis licentiam abeundi cum vita et membris, sed rex Angliæ noluit civitatem Jerusalem illa conditione recipere.¹

A.D. 1191.
December.
Proceedings
of Richard
in Palestine.

De Rosamunda.

Hoveden,
403. b. 18,
shorter.

Eodem anno, cum Hugo Lincolnensis episcopus peragrasset magnam partem episcopatus sui, faciens visiones suas per domos virorum religiosorum diocesis suæ, et verba vitæ æternæ prædicans, venit ad abbatiam monialium de Godestoue, et ecclesiam intravit. Ubi [cum] ante magnum altare prolixius orasset, vidit ibi sepulcrum quoddam ante altare panno serico coopertum, et cum lampadibus ardentibus cereos circumstantes, quod in magna habebatur reverentia a prædictis monialibus. Et quæsiuit a circumstantibus cujus esset sepulcrum illud, quod in tanta habebatur reverentia. Et dixerunt ei quod illud erat sepulcrum Rosamundæ, quam Henricus rex Angliæ tantum dilexerat, quod pro amore ejus domum illam, quæ prius erat

Hugh of
Lincoln
visits
Godstow.

He sees the
tomb of Fair
Rosamond.

fo. 181 v.

¹ Hoveden has not this passage, doubtless having written on later information as follows:—"Deinde secunda die ante Natale Domini perrexit rex Angliæ usque ad Turonum des Chavaliers, et ibi fuit in Natale Domini; et voluit inde procedere post Natale Domini ad obsidendam civitatem Jerosolimam; sed dux Burgundie et Franci noluerunt eum sequi, dicentes quod pax Francie

dominus eorum prohibuit iis in recessu suo ne ipsi ulterius moram facerent in terra illa. Unde oportebat regem Angliæ a proposito suo deficere, quia homines et pecunia defecerunt ei;" 406 b. 50. Cf. Joinville, p. 172 (ed. Didot, Paris, 1859), and Itiner. R. R. 308. Hoveden gives another version of the same story further on, fo. 407. b. 21.

A.D. 1191. Henry II. was a benefactor of Godstow. pauper et mendicans multis et magnis redditibus ditaverat, et nobilibus ædificiis decoraverat, [ac] redditus magnos eidem ecclesiæ contulerat ad inveniendum [lumen] illud indeficiens circa sepulcrum illud. Hoveden, 498. b. 23, shorter.

Hugh orders the body of Rosamond to be removed from the church. Quibus episcopus ait, "Tollite eam hinc, quia scortum fuit, et amor ille qui inter regem et illam fuit illicitus erat et adulterinus. Et sepelite eam cum aliis mortuis extra ecclesiam, ne Christiana religio vilescat;¹ et ut exemplo illius cæteræ mulieres exterioræ caveant sibi ab illicitis [et] adulterinis concubibus." Et illæ fecerunt sicut præceperat eis episcopus, et tollentes eam sepelierunt extra ecclesiam. Hoveden, 498. b. 23.

The county of Flanders divided between Philip, Baldwin of Hainault, and the widow of the count. Eodem anno, antequam Philippus rex Franciæ in terram suam venisset, Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus avunculus ejus, et cæteri Francorum procuratores, quibus ipse in recessu suo regnum Franciæ custodiendum tradiderat, cum audissent quod Philippus comes Flandriæ esset mortuus, diviserunt comitatum Flandriæ inter dominum suum regem Franciæ, et filium comitis de Hainou, fratrem uxoris regis Franciæ defunctæ; et inter sororem Sanctii regis Portugalensis, quæ fuerat uxor Philippi comitis Flandriæ; ita quod unusquisque eorum habebat partem quæ illum de jure contingebat.

Roger the constable of Chester proposes to hang his officers for surrendering Tickhill and Nottingham to John. Eodem anno Rogerus² constabularius Cestrie, filius Johannis, cui Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, dum esset totius Angliæ justitiarius, tradiderat castellum de Notingham et castellum de Tikehil, in fidelitate regis custodienda, doluit vehementer quod servientes sui quibus ille prænominata castella tradiderat in custodia, scilicet Robertus de Crocstune, quem ipse fecerat constabularium de Notingham, et Eudo de Daiville, quem fecerat constabularium de Tikehil, ita inconsulte et sine insulto tradidissent prænominata castella Johanni comiti Meretonii. Et apposuit ut comprehenderet illos, Hoveden, 498. b. 11, very briefly

¹ *vilescat*] inolescat, B.

| ² De Lacy.

sed illi inde præmuniti custodiebant se, male sibi
 conscii, et de venia desperantes juri stare noluerunt.
 Et ideo nomen proditoris in æternum non deficiet
 illis.

A.D. 1191.
 They refuse
 to stand
 their trial.

Hoveden,
 406. b. 11,
 very briefly.

At prædictus Rogerus constabularius Cestrise apprehendit Alanum de Lec, quem associaverat Robertus de Crokestona in custodia castelli de Notingham.

Roger hangs
 Alan of Leek
 and Peter de
 Bovencourt.

Apprehendit et Petrum de Bouencurt, Normannigenam, quem ipse associaverat, Eudoni de Daivilla in custodia castelli de Tikehil; et utrumque illorum suspendit in patibulo, licet prædictus Petrus de Bouencurt, statim post traditionem castelli de Tikehil, venisset Lundonias, in conspectu Johannis comitis Meretonii, et in curia regis, coram cancellario, voluisset innocentiam suam purgare: constanter affirmans quod castellum de Tikehil traditum fuit comiti Johanni contra voluntatem et prohibitionem suam; et quod si ipse habuisset socios qui essent unanimes ad defendendum illud contra comitem Meretonii, sicut ipse voluit, non esset traditum in manu illius. Cancellarius vero noluit purgationem inde ab eo recipere; sed remisit eum ad curiam constabularii Cestrise, dicens illi, "Vade ad dominum tuum constabularium, et in curia ejus purga innocentiam tuam a crimine quod ipse tibi imponit."

Peter de
 Bovencourt
 had offered
 to purge
 himself to
 the chan-
 cellor, who
 remitted
 him to his
 lord.

Qui cum illuc venisset cum litteris comitis Meretonii supplicantibus, obtulit se modis omnibus purgare innocentiam suam a crimine quod dominus suus ei imponebat; scilicet quod nec præcepit nec voluit nec in aliquo consensit quod castellum de Tikehil traderetur comiti Johanni; immo in quantum potuit prohibuit ne traderetur illi. At prædictus constabularius Cestrise noluit inde recipere purgationem ab illo, sed sine judicio illum suspendit in patibulo cum catena ferrea. Deinde post triduum suspendit quendam armigerum suum, pro eo quod ipse abigebat aves a corpore illius pendentis in patibulo, quæ carnes ejus unguibus et rostris dilacerabant. Johannes autem comes Meretonii, in vindic-

John had
 interceded
 for him.

fo. 182 r.

But Roger
 has him
 hanged in
 chains, and
 then hang
 a squire for
 driving the
 birds from
 his body.

A.D. 1191. *John dis-
seizes the
constable.* tam prædictorum suspensorum dissaisiavit prædictum
constabularium Cestrie de omni tenemento quod de illo
tenuit, et terras suas devastavit.

A.D. 1188. *March 13.
Pope Cle-
ment III.
writes to
the king of
Scotland,* "Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo *Hoveden,
371. b. 1.*
filio, Willelmo illustri regi Scottorum, salutem et apostoli-
cam benedictionem. Cum universi Christi jugo subjecti,
apud sedem apostolicam patrocinium invenire debeant, et
honorem, et favorem; illos tamen specialius convenit pro-
tectionis munimine confoveri, quorum fidem ac devotionem
in pluribus est experta, ut ad illius dilectionis favorem
tanto amplius provocentur, et ejus reverentiæ devotiori affec-
tione subdantur, quanto benevolentiae ipsius et gratiae pig-
nus se noverint certius assecutos. Eapropter, carissime
in Christo fili, reverentiam ac devotionem quam ad Roma-
nam te habuisse a longe retro temporibus ecclesiam novi-
mus, attendentes, præsentis scripti pagina duximus statu-
dum ut Scotica ecclesia nisi apostolicæ sedi, cujus filia
spiritualis existit, nullo mediante debeat subjacere; in
qua hæ sedes episcopales esse noscuntur, ecclesiæ videlicet
Sancti Andreae, Glascuensis, Dunkeldensis, Dumbinensis,
Breinensis, Aberdunensis, Moraviensis, Rosinensis, Cati-
nensis; et nemini liceat nisi Romano pontifici vel legato
ab ipsius latere destinato, in regnum Scotiæ interdicti vel
excommunicationis sententiam promulgare; et si promulgata
fuerit, decernimus non valere. Adjicimus ut nulli de cætero,
qui de regno Scotiæ non fuerit, nisi quem apostolica sedes
propter hoc de corpore suo specialiter destinaverit, licitum
sit in eo legationis officium exercere. Prohibemus autem,
ut contraversiones quæ fuerint in regno de possessionibus
ejus exortæ, ad examen extra regnum positorum judicum,
non trahantur, nisi ad Romanam ecclesiam fuerit appella-
tum. Si qua vero scripta contra hujus libertatis statutum
apparuerint impetrata, vel in posterum, istius concessionis
mentionem non habita, contigerit impetrari; nullum tibi vel
ipsi regno circa hujus prærogativæ concessionem præjudi-
cium generetur. Præterea libertates et immunitates tibi
vel eidem regno, vel ecclesiis in ee constitutis, a prædeces-

that the
church of
Scotland is
immediately
subject to
the sec of
Rome.

No one is to
be legate in
Scotland ex-
cept directly
from Rome;
and no ap-
peals are to
be allowed
outside the
realm except
in Rome.

¹ This letter, if written by Cle-
ment III., belongs to the year 1188,
under which it is given by Hoveden,
371. b. But Hoveden gives it again
verbatim under the year 1191, as-
cribing it to Celestine III.; with

the same date "iii. id. Mart., pon-
tificatus nostri anno primo." As
Celestine III. was not elected until
March 30, 1191, the letter, if written
by him, must belong to the year
1192.

- Hoveden, 471. b. 27. " soribus nostris Romanis pontificibus indultas et hactenus
" observatas, ratas habemus et illibatas futuris temporibus
" statuimus permanere. Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc
" paginam nostræ constitutionis et prohibitionis infringere,
" vel ei aliquatenus contraire; si quis autem hoc attentare
" præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum
" apostolorum Petri et Pauli Ejus se noverit incursum.
" Datum tertio idus Martii."¹ A.D. 1188.
March 13.
- Hoveden, 407. b. 20. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M^oC^oXC^oII^o., Ricardus
rex Angliæ erat in terra Jerosolimitana apud Turo- Richard
mund, id est, Al Turun des Chevales, in ipso die spent
Nativitatis Dominicæ; et Berengera filia regis Navaræ, Christmas
regina Angliæ; et Johanna regina Siciliæ, soror ejus, at Latroon;
dem regis Ricardi, quæ fuerat uxor Willelmi regis the queen
Siciliæ; et filia Ysaac qui fuerat imperator insulæ de also were in
Cypre, erant in eodem die Nativitatis Dominicæ in Palestine.
terra Jerusalem, in custodia ejusdem regis Ricardi.
- Et Guido de Lezinan rex de Jerusalem, et magnus fo. 183 v.
exercitus diversarum gentium Christianorum, cum illo Guy also
erat.² was with
him.
- Hoveden, 407. b. 14. Philippus autem rex Franciæ, qui a terra Jerusalem, Philip spent
ut supra dictum est, peregrinatione sua imperfecta Christmas at
recesserat, eodem die Nativitatis Domini fuit in Frap- Fontaine-
cia dominica terra sua, apud Funteine Blahaud, sanus bleau.
et incolumis, et impudenter jactans se in proximo vas-
taturum terras regis Angliæ.
- Hoveden, 407. b. 18. Et eodem Natali Domini, Alienor quondam regina Queen Elea-
Angliæ, mater prædicti regis Ricardi, fuit in Nor- nor was in
mannia.³ Normandy.
- Hoveden, 407. b. 17. Et eodem Natali Domini, Johannes comes Mere- John was in
tonii, frater prædicti regis Ricardi, fuit in Anglia apud England,
Hoveden cum Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo, unde Gau- at Howden
with Hugh
of Durham.

¹ " Datum Laterani, tertio idus
" Martii, pontificatus nostri anno
" primo." Hoveden.

² Guy left the head-quarters of
the army at Ramleh for Acre on
the 20th of December. Hoveden
correctly omits the statement in the

text. If Richard really spent Christ-
mas at Latroon, he must have been
in the most advanced quarter of the
camp. Guy had been in command
in the rear. See Itin. R. R. 298, 299.

³ " Apud Boneville super Toke,"
Hoveden.

A.D. 1191.
Dec. 25.

fridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus illum, et omnes qui cum præfato episcopo Dunelmensi comederant, habuit pro excommunicatis. Sed ipsi tandem, pœnitentia ducti, ad satisfactionem venerunt, et ab ipso archiepiscopo absolvi meruerunt.

A.D. 1192.
Jan. 20.
Philip meets
the steward
of Norman-
dy between
Gisors and
Trie, and
demands his
sister with
Gisors, Au-
male, and
Eu.

Post Natale Domini Philippus rex Franciæ venit inter Gisorcium et Trie, in octavis Sancti Hilarii, ad colloquium inter illum et Willelmum filium Radulfi senescallum Normanniæ, et procures Normanniæ, et ostendit illi chirographum conventionis factæ inter ipsum et regem Angliæ apud Messanam in Sicilia.

Hoveden,
408. b. 17.
shorter.

Et secundum conventionis illius tenorem, ab eis petiit sibi reddi Alesiam sororem suam, quæ custodiebatur in turre Rothomagi; et petiit cum illa castellum Gisorcii cum omnibus appendiciis suis, et comitatum de Albemaria et comitatum de Auca. Sed senescallus et procures Normanniæ nihil horum quæ petebat, ei tradere voluerunt, dicentes se nullum mandatum recepisse inde a domino suo rege Angliæ. Unde rex Franciæ iratus, dixit quod ille potenter adquireret quæ illi facere sibi negabant; et multum comminabatur eis. Senescallus autem et procures Normanniæ castella sua munierunt.

The steward
prepares to
resist him.

Philip pro-
poses to
John to
marry Alais,
and seize his
brother's
dominions.

Interim rex Franciæ videns quod in malitia sua procedere pro sua voluntate non posset, mandavit Johanni comiti Meretonii, fratri regis Angliæ, quod cum festinatione venisset in Francia locuturus cum eo: et ipse daret ei in conjugem Alesiam sororem suam, et faceret eum habere omnes terras Angliæ et Normanniæ cismarinas, si matrimonium fuerit contractum inter illum et prædictam sororem suam.

Eleanor goes
to England,
and with
the justi-
ciars forbids

Quod [cum] Alienor reginæ constaret, omnibus postpositis, aliisque negotiis omissis, transfretavit de Normannia in Angliam,¹ et invenit Johannem filium suum

¹ She landed at Portsmouth Feb. 11. R. Devizes, p. 55. This writer adds that Eleanor held four councils, at Windsor, Oxford, London,

and Winchester, before she could prevail on John to stay in England, p. 57.

comitem Meretonii, jam paratum transfretare de Anglia in Normanniam ad loquendum cum rege Franciæ. A.D. 1192. February. John to go to France.
 At mater ejus et Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et cæteri justitiiarii Angliæ, prohibuerunt eum ex parte regis Angliæ et sua, ne ipse transfretasset; dicentes quod si ipse transfretasset, ipsi saisirent in manu regis omnes terras et castella sua. His igitur He obeys.
 et aliis matris suæ monitis Johannes comes Meretonii acquievit; et postpositis regis Franciæ mandatis, propositum suum mutavit in melius.

Hoveden, 408. b. 26.

Deinde Alienor mater regis, et fere omnes principes The barons swear allegiance to Richard.
 et magnates Angliæ, venerunt Lundonias, et juraverunt regi Angliæ et hæredi suo fidelitates contra omnes homines.

Hoveden, 408. b. 28.

Cumque rex Franciæ vidisset quod Johannes comes The French nobles refuse to invade Normandy.
 Meretonii noluit venire ad eum, voluit Normanniam hostiliter invadere; sed milites regni sui noluerunt in hoc consentire, dicentes quod ipsi fierent perjuri si ipsi guerram fecissent in terram regis Angliæ, quamdiu fo. 183 r.
 esset in servitio Dei.

Die autem Purificationis Beatæ Mariæ, prædictus Feb. 2. Archbishop Geoffrey excommunicates Hugh of Durham again.
 Eboracensis archiepiscopus iterum excommunicavit Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, quia ei obedire noluit; similiter et omnes tam clericos quam laicos qui cum illo manducarent aut biberent, aut illi aliquid venderint, aut in domibus suis eum reciperent, aut aliquam communicationem cum eo haberent. Et in hunc modum fecit illum excommunicari, eodem die Purificationis, per omnes ecclesias diocesis suæ, in quibus potestatem habebat. Sed præfatus Dunelmensis episcopus in nullo detulit sententiæ illi; sed multa ut videbatur prosperitate gaudens, parabat se ad prosequendum appellationem suam quam ad summum pontificem fecerat, contra prædictum Eboracensem archiepiscopum. Hugh contemns the sentence.

Et jam cum tempus proficiscendi instaret, regina Eleanor summons the two to court.
 Alienor et Rothomagensis archiepiscopus convocaverunt utrumque, scilicet Eboracensem archiepiscopum et

A.D. 1192. Dunelmensem episcopum, ad audiendam, et, si posset,
March. fine debito determinandam controversiam quæ vertebatur inter illos.

After March 15. Qui cum post medium Quadragesimæ venissent Lundonias, et ibidem coram prædictis regina, et Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et fere totius Angliæ episcopis in unum congregatis, causas suas protendissent, Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus obtulit ponere se in examine præfatæ reginæ et archiepiscopi Rothomagensis et omnium episcoporum Angliæ, salvis privilegiis suis.

Geoffrey refuses unless Hugh will admit his sentence. Sed archiepiscopus Eboracensis noluit ponere se in examine illorum, nisi Dunelmensis episcopus prius venisset ad limina beati Petri Eboracensis absolvendus ab eo, et in omnibus juri pariturus.

Hugh insists that Geoffrey shall acknowledge his sentence to be null. Quod cum Dunelmensis episcopus audisset, dixit quod cum archiepiscopo Eboracensi pacem nullam faceret, nisi ille proprio ore suo confessus fuisset coram omni populo, et maxime in Eboracensi ecclesia, ubi sententiam excommunicationis in eo dederat, quod sententia illa nulla fuit nec teneri debuit. Sed Eboracensis archiepiscopus nec illud facere voluit nec dicere.

Geoffrey has his cross carried erect in London, in defiance of the bishops of the province of Canterbury. Præterea prædictus Eboracensis archiepiscopus prima die qua Lundonias venit, fecit portare ante se crucem suam a Novo Templo, in quo hospitatus erat, usque ad Westmonasterium: sed Ricardus Lundoniensis episcopus et cæteri Cantuariensis ecclesiæ suffraganei murmuraverunt inde adversus eum, et prohibuerunt illi,

Hoveden, 408. b. 26, shorter.

fo. 184 r. ne amplius portasset eam in illa diocesi, dicentes quod si amplius portare præsumpsisset, illi eam frangerent: et in hoc quod eam jam portaverat habebant eum pro excommunicato: et jam eam fregissent nisi esset filius regis et regis frater, et adhuc novus archiepiscopus. Prædictus vero Lundoniensis episcopus Novum Templum, in quo archiepiscopus hospitatus fuerat, a Divino suspendit officio et a campanarum sonitu. Unde ipse Eboracensis archiepiscopus dolens et confusus, citius inde recessit cruce sua non comportata.

The bishop of London suspends the new Temple from divine service. Confusion of Geoffrey.

Hoveden,
408. b. 38,
shorter.

Interim Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, domini regis cancellarius et totius Angliæ legatus, confidens in auxilio reginæ Alienor et Johannis comitis Meretonii, utpote qui prædictæ reginæ multa dederat et se plura daturum promiserat, et qui prænominato Johanni quingenta millia¹ marcarum argenti promiserat pro auxilio suo habendo, et pro restitutione sua habenda in regimine regni Angliæ, sicut habebat in recessu regis Ricardi, venit in Angliam et applicuit apud Doveram, et mansit ibidem in castello Doroberniæ, quod adhuc erat in custodia Mathæi de Clere sororii sui. Et misit Londonias nuncios suos ad reginam et Johannem comitem, et archiepiscopum Rotomagensem, et ad alios justitiarios Angliæ; postulans sibi fieri restitutionem ablatorum, et offerens se paratum esse stare juri et regis voluntati in omnibus quæ adversus eum dicerent.

A.D. 1192.
March.
The chancellor having
bribed John,

lands at
Dover, and
sends to
London to
demand
restitution.

Hoveden,
408. b. 40,
shorter.

Regina autem Alienor et Johannes filius ejus conabantur pluribus modis pacem facere inter illum et Rothomagensem archiepiscopum et cæteros regni magnates; et dicebant quod, sicut illi credebant, multum displiceret regi quod sic ille dejectus esset a regimine regni sine præcepto illius. Séd cum prædicta regina audisset a Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et a cæteris regni Angliæ magnatibus, excessus et importunitates quas præfatus cancellarius in plebem Anglicam sibi commissam exercuerat, quievit. Et Johannes filius ejus comes Meretonii, acceptis a Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et a cæteris justitiariis Angliæ, duobus millibus marcis argenti de thesauro regis fratris sui, consilio eorum adquevit: et una cum illis et Alienor regina mandavit supradicto Eliensi episcopo ne ille ulterius processisset; sed cum festinatione summa sicut vitam et membra dilexisset ab Anglia recedere properasset.

The queen
and John
try to make
peace be-
tween the
chancellor
and the
barons.

The barons
bribe John
to their
side, and
order the
chancellor
to quit the
country.

Hoveden,
408. b. 42.

Cancellarius ergo ille fraudatus a desiderio suo, et

He leaves,
April 3.

¹ *quingenta millia marcarum*] pro quingentis libris, Hoveden. Richard of Devizes gives a longer account

of these transactions, adding that the justiciars bought off John by a fine of 500*l.* imposed on the chancellor.

A.D. 1192. non ausus ibidem diutius moram facere, in Coena Hoveden
408. b. 42.
April 2. Domini transfretavit, et applicuit apud Witsand, et
multum comminatus est genti Angliæ.

The chan-
cellor goes
to the king
of France,
fo. 184 v.
as rumour
says, with
treasonable
intentions.

Et novissimus error hominis illius erat pejor priore.
Ipse enim, ut dicebatur, statim postquam applicuerat,
perrexit ad Philippum regem Franciæ, inimicum do-
mini sui regis Angliæ, et familiariter cum eo moram
faciens, multa machinatus est, ut dicebatur, in perni-
ciem regis domini sui et regni.

Geoffrey
gives the
nunnery of
S. Clement
at York to
Godstow.

Eodem anno Gaufridus Eboracensis dedit, et carta Hoveden,
408. b. 45,
shorter.
sua confirmavit, abbatiæ sanctimonialium de Godestoue,
ecclesiam Sancti Clementis de Eboraco, quam Tursti-
nus Eboracensis archiepiscopus fundavit in fundo suo,
et sanctimoniales Deo in perpetuum servituras consti-
tuit in ea. Quæ cum ab ipsis fundamentis ecclesiæ
libera exstitisset, et nulli domui esset subjecta, indig-
nata est inde Alicia priorissa, et omnes sanctimoniales
ejusdem ecclesiæ Sancti Clementis appellaverunt ad
summum pontificem pro libertate ecclesiæ suæ tuenda.

The prioress
of S. Cle-
ment's ap-
peals to
Rome, and
Geoffrey
excommuni-
cates her.

Et præfata priorissa statim post appellationem iter
arripuit ad summum pontificem. Sed Eboracensis ar-
chiepiscopus in nullo deferens appellationi earum, ex-
communicavit eas, quia noluerunt obedire domui de
Godestoue, quæ est in episcopatu Lincolnæ, inter
Oxenforde et Wdestoc.

Hugh of
Durham
persuades
the pope to
declare
archbishop
Geoffrey's
sentence
against him
to be null.

Interim Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus frequenter
misit nuncios suos ad Cœlestinum summum pontificem.
Et licet papa et multi cardinalium causam Eboracensis
archiepiscopi modis omnibus fovissent, tamen Dunel-
mensis episcopus tandem invenit gratiam apud papam,
adeo quod ipse et universi cardinales judicaverunt sen-
tentiam anathematis quam Eboracensis archiepiscopus
tulerat in episcopum Dunelmensem, nullam fuisse;
tum quia idem episcopus fuerat Romæ consecratus a
summo pontifice; tum quia sententia illa post appel-
lationem factam in eum lata fuit, tum quia idem
Dunelmensis episcopus ab octo vel pluribus papis pri-
vilegiatus fuit, quod nullus potens esset illum excom-

municare vel suspendere, nisi de speciali mandato summi pontificis; tum quia idem episcopus semel fecit canonicam obedientiam ecclesie Eboracensi et Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo et ejus successoribus. Dicebat enim Coelestinus papa, sumens argumentum a majoribus, quod grave esset onus et importabile si oportuisset archiepiscopos et episcopos et ceteros ecclesiarum rectores semper reiterare professionem suam, quando-
cunque novus papa institueretur. Præterea idem papa Coelestinus adjecit in mandatis suis quod præfatus Eboracensis archiepiscopus vel suspensionis vel excommunicationis sententiam proferendi in præfatum Dunelmensem episcopum nullam de cætero habeat potestatem. Hæc tamen sufficere non poterant Dunelmensi episcopo, sed remisit nuncios suos ad summum pontificem postulans ut ipse ex toto absolutus esset a jurisdictione Eboracensis archiepiscopi, quamdiu duo illi vixissent.

A.D. 1192.
The pope pronounces that it is not necessary for the bishops to make a new profession to a new metropolitan.

Interim clerici quos Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus Romam miserat post dejectionem Willelmi Eliensis episcopi, cum litteris suis et cum litteris episcoporum Angliæ missis contra prædictum Eliensem episcopum, in hac forma scripserunt domino suo Rothomagensi archiepiscopo.

The agents of the archbishop of Rouen send their report from Rome.

" Epistola clericorum Rothomagensis archiepiscopo.

February.

Hoveden,
402. b. 50.

" Waltero Dei gratia Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, carissimo domino et patri, clerici sui, salutem. Omittimus pericula et labores quos in via sæpius nos oportuit sustinere, et quod frequenter insidiis declinatis, tandem incidimus in latrones, bonisque omnibus præter quosdam equos et litteras, spoliati, sine omni viatico venimus in urbem sumptuosam tertio idus Februarii, apud beati Petri ecclesiam curia commorante. Ibi invenimus cancellarii clericos jac-
tantes plurima, et multa, ut videbatur, prosperitate gaudentes. Nam plenæ legationis officio impetrato, jam sæpe dominus papa et cardinalium quidam Eliensi episcopo cum subscriptione legati suas epistolas dirigebant; et jam principibus legationis bullatis litteris inde nondum traditis, sese recessui imminenti nuncios præcingebant. Etenim dominum papam ex toto pronum invenimus ut partes cancellarii

They arrived at Rome Feb. 11.
fo. 185 r.

The pope had promised to renew the bishop of Ely's legation.

A.D. 1192. " tueretur; et qui domino papæ familiarius assident et ad- Hoveden,
400. a. 7.
February. " hærent, ipsius negotia tanquam propria promovebant. Ve-
The pope " rum per Dei gratiam ad adventus nostri instantiam, litteræ
was alto- " sunt retentæ, quibusdam qui negotia vestra devotius respi-
gether on " ciunt, sæpe et multum dicentibus non fuisse hactenus
the chan- " adeo necessariam vestrorum præsentiam nunciorum. Porro
cellor's side. " quando potuimus, audiendi copia impetrata, coram papa et
" cardinalibus universis litteras proposuimus a vobis et epi-
" scopis et prælatis, et justitiariis Angliæ destinatas, cum
" diligentia digna cætera adnectentes quæ intentioni vestræ
" credidimus expedire. Cum vero nuncii Eliensis episcopi
" attentassent objicere tam responsionibus quam objectis, do-
" minus papa in vestri depressione negotii, plurima indig-
" nanter et cum amaritudine proponebat, multiplicatis incul-
" cans sermonibus et affirmans, ' Scimus quod illustris rex
" Anglorum domino Eliensi regni sui totius administra-
" tionem reliquit, nec aliquem ei [parem] adhibuit, vel
" majorem. Litteras domini regis super eo vidimus, revo-
" catorias aut contrarias non vidimus nec videmus, nec
" earum transcriptum sigillis appositis et authenticis con-
" signatum. Sed multæ venerabiles personæ scribunt con-
" tra dominum cancellarium, et pro domino cancellario
" multarum recepimus venerabilium litteras personarum.
" Sed et litteræ quas vos portatis eorum sunt qui dominum
" cancellarium expulerunt; nec miramur admodum si pro
" se scribere videantur. Scimus quia dominus rex nulli
" unquam mortalium tantam dilectionem exhibuit vel hono-
" rem impendit, quantum domino Eliensi. Ipsum namque
" fecit episcopum venerandæ sedis et ditissimæ Eliensis;
" sed et cancellarium suum; sed et regnum Angliæ univer-
" sum ejus solius custodiæ commendavit. Sed nec omnibus
" istis contentus esse potuit dominus rex, sed et pro lega-
" tionis officio domino cancellario committendo, et bonæ
" recordationis domino Clementi et nobis etiam supplicavit.
" Vide quam tenere amabat eum! quem unquam hominum
" tantum diligit vel dilexit? Ad preces domini regis et in-
" stantiam multam præsentem legationem indulsimus domino
" Eliensi; ab homine quem tantum dilexerat regem tam
" subito tantam gratiam revocasse vix credere possumus,
" nisi litteras ejus et sigillum regium videremus. Et quod
" domino regi dedimus, puta legationem domini Eliensis,
" sine falsitatis nota nec suspendere possumus nec auferre.
" Sed et omnes Anglicani episcopi pro eodem legationis
" officio confirmando, mihi proprias litteras transmiserunt,
" et mihi unanimiter supplicantes pro eo cancellario com-
" mendationem plurimam porrexerunt; et modo [quod] con-

The pope's
speech in
favour of
the chan-
cellor.

He relies on
Richard's
regard for
the chan-
cellor.

Hoveden,
409. a. 37.

“ ‘ trarium postulatur ab eis, suæ potius levitati imputandum
 “ ‘ videtur. Sed et dominus voster Rothomagensis archiepi-
 “ ‘ scopus nobis pro domino Eliensi plenas devotione litteras
 “ ‘ destinavit, cum pro ipso scripisset, dum prosperis utere-
 “ ‘ tur, contra ipsum exilii calamitate oppressum, eos grave
 “ ‘ est exaudiri, cum contra eos scriptum sit,

A.D. 1192.
February.
He reproves
the in-
consistency and
fickleness of
the bishops.

“ ‘ Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos;
 “ ‘ Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.’

“ ‘ Porro cum pristina felicitate gauderet, et legationis vice
 “ ‘ apud vos fungeretur, quæ unquam ecclesia, quod monas-
 “ ‘ terium, quæ persona, quæ vulgaris aut nobilis, super erga-
 “ ‘ tionibus domini Eliensis, vel ecclesiarum gravamine verbum
 “ ‘ ad nos miserat vel querelam? Omnes applaudebant felici,
 “ ‘ omnes murmurant in oppressum. Amici fortunæ fuerant,
 “ ‘ cum fortunæ gratia recedentes.’ Hæc quidem et multa alia
 “ ‘ a domino papa opposita, qui superiorem non habet, et a
 “ ‘ pontifice summo et iudice, et cujus voluntati nemo est qui
 “ ‘ resistat. Sed et multum contra nos quibusdam facere vide-
 “ ‘ batur, quod dominus rex in reversione vestra supplicavit pro
 “ ‘ vobis ut in Normanniæ partibus et cæteris transmarinis
 “ ‘ vobis legatio conferretur: unde prima facie nemini videbatur
 “ ‘ quod regiæ esset voluntatis, vos in Angliæ partibus admi-
 “ ‘ nistrationem habere; cum et Angliæ tutelam gerere, et
 “ ‘ legationis officium in Normanniam exercere, uni et eidem
 “ ‘ homini nec facile nec promptum videbatur. Sed et forma
 “ ‘ regiæ voluntatis, quæ pro vobis fuerat a rege cancellario
 “ ‘ destinata, senescallo Normanniæ a rege dicebatur transmissa,
 “ ‘ ut et ipse in Normanniæ partibus vestro consilio fungeretur:
 “ ‘ ad quæ et similia cum responsiones idoneas haberemus,
 “ ‘ tamen domini papæ favor et adiutorium in partem contrariam
 “ ‘ nitebatur. Verumtamen dubitare coactus, tum ad instantiam
 “ ‘ nostram tum cardinalium aliquorum quos in vestræ partis
 “ ‘ gratiam traxeramus, cardinalibus omnibus congregatis in
 “ ‘ unum, singulorum consilia requisivit, nostroque negotio, diu
 “ ‘ suspensis deliberationibus, agitato, suam dominus papa sedens
 “ ‘ pro tribunali [dedit] sententiam, sub hac forma; puta, ut
 “ ‘ breviter et summatim procedamus, et cancellarium a vestra
 “ ‘ et domini Rothomagensis decani denunciatione absolvit; et
 “ ‘ vice mutata sententiam Eliensis episcopi, quam occasione
 “ ‘ quarundam probabiliū litterarum in vos tulerat, et deca-
 “ ‘ num, et alios quosdam cancellario odiosos, nullam fuisse
 “ ‘ iudicavit. Porro dominus papa in sua procedens sententia,
 “ ‘ super injuria Eboracensi archiepiscopo irrogata, sine forma
 “ ‘ præscripta, cancellario purgationem indixit. Legationem
 “ ‘ autem nec ejus executionem ademit, cum jam ipsam ad

The king
had asked
for the lega-
tion in Nor-
mandy for
the arch-
bishop of
Rouen, and
that was
held in-
consistent with
the nomina-
tion of
justiciar of
England.

The pope
annuls the
excommuni-
cations on
both sides.

A.D. 1182. February. He continues the legation of the chancellor, but forbids him to communicate to 1287.¹ the archbishop or the barons.

He will send legates into England to mediate.

The pope disowns the letters published by the bishop of Ely.

“ precum regiarum instantiam contulisset, et vobis etiam supplicantibus cum pontificibus Angliæ universis. Eam tamen legationem protulit exsequendam sub hac exceptione adjecta, quod ipse interdictum vel suspensionis vel excommunicationis sententiam proferendi, in vos, vel in decanum Rothomagensem,¹ vel episcopos Angliæ vel justitarios, vel magnates, nullam habeat potestatem. Cujus interpretationem sententiæ vos habituros confidimus utiliore, verborum faciem vobis in ipsis pape litteris transmissuros. Sententiæ vero prænominatæ adiecit, quod consilio cardinalium convocato, nostroque adhibito, et nunciorum domini Eliensis, personas venerabiles in vestris partibus providebit, quibus mediantibus inter vos et dominum cancellarium possit pax et concordia reformari, saltem quantum ad mutuum rancorem animi remittendum. In hujus antem deliberationis tractatu et prædictæ formæ sententiæ, eas profecto credimus ex toto litteras revocandas; quæ cum essent episcopis totius Angliæ destinatæ, tamen occasione ipsarum idem cancellarius vos cum multis aliis excommunicationis vinculo denunciavit astrictos. Superæqua tamen denunciatione cum nos domino pape ad mandatum domini Rothomagensis decani proposuissemus querelam, palam in consistorio, coram cardinalibus universis et populo, lectis eisdem litteris et inspectis, quantum protestatus est voce coram omnibus exaltata, quod nunquam prædictæ litteræ a conscientia ejus originem habuerunt, costu cardinalium de se id idem cum admiratione plurima proclamante. Et cum nuncii Eliensis episcopi pape instantissime reclamarent, nemini aurem propitiam vel fau- tricem impendit. Valetæ.”

Hoveden, 408. b. 17.

The bishop of Ely's agents remonstrate with the pope for this.

In nocte sequenti venerunt nuncii Eliensis episcopi ad dominum papam, et exprobantes illius inconstantiam dixerunt, “ Nunquam putavimus ex ore vestro audisse quod ita impudenter negaretis factum vestrum. Nonne confirmastis sententiam excommunicationis quam dominus Eliensis episcopus, devotus filius tuus, et Romanæ ecclesiæ et vester, dedit in Rothomagensem archiepiscopum et complices suos, qui in dejectionem illius unanimes exstiterant, et litteras vestras archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliæ inde misistis? Quid ergo in eum displicuit paternitati vestræ? Aut quis vos seduxit, ut ita palam in consistorio,

Hoveden, 408. b. 24, shorter.

¹ John of Coutances, archdeacon of Oxford.

coram universis cardinalibus et clero et populo dix-
 " eritis quod nunquam prædictæ litteræ a conscientia
 " vestra originem duxerunt? Precamur ergo, domine,
 " sanctitatem vestram, ut saltem, pro amore Dei et
 " honore Romanæ ecclesiæ, reducatis ad memoriam ser-
 " vitia quæ vobis dominus noster Eliensis episcopus de-
 " vote exhibuit; et ut testimonio veritatis opprobrium
 " domini nostri et nostrum tollatur, ne inimici nostri
 " de injusta condemnatione nostra hilaescent."

Hoveden,
 400. b. 46,
 shorter.

His et aliis hujusmodi exhortationibus, clerici Eli-
 ensis episcopi adeo domini papæ animum in conatus
 suos allexerunt, quod in crastino idem papa, sedens
 pro tribunali, coram cardinalibus et clero et populo
 dixit, " Fratres mei, confiteor vobis me graviter peccasse
 " in dominum Eliensem episcopum, et in clericos ejus.
 " Recordatus enim sum quod litteræ illæ confirma-
 " tionis nostræ super sententia excommunicationis quam
 " dominus Eliensis dederat in comitem Meretoni et
 " in Rothomagensis archiepiscopum et complices suos,
 " qui eum violenter a regimine Angliæ dejecerunt, a
 " conscientia nostra, et a voluntate emanaverunt: et
 " eas adhuc ratas habemus, et eas præcipimus invio-
 " labiliter observari, donec prædicti comes de Mere-
 " tone et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, et complices
 " sui, ad condignam satisfactionem perveniant."

A.D. 1192.
 February.
 They en-
 treat him
 to remember
 the services
 of the
 bishop, and
 not to place
 him under
 such a
 charge.

fol. 186 v.

Interim nuncii quos Dunelmensis episcopus miserat
 contra Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum redie-
 runt, portantes litteras summi pontificis in hac forma;¹
 " Cælestinus [episcopus,] servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus
 " fratribus Lincolniensi et Rofensi episcopis, et dilecto filio

The agents
 of the
 bishop of
 Durham
 return with
 letters from
 the pope.

¹ This letter is given by Hoveden under the year 1191, but as he refers to it as the result of a mission to Rome in consequence of the treatment of John, mentioned above, p. 236, it probably belongs to January or February 1192. The curia was at the Lateran from the middle of February to May in this

year. Cf. Jaffé, 891. Hoveden adds, that the delegates sat at Northampton, and prorogued their session until July 1. The letter must, therefore, have been received early in the year. According to Gervase (1581) the final concord between Geoffrey and Hugh was made before the delegates at Northampton in October.

A.D. 1192. " [abbati] de Burgo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Hoveden, 406. a. 30.
 " Sicut ea quæ a venerabilibus fratribus coepiscopis nostris,
 " circumspectione provida et ratione prævida, statuuntur, debe-
 " mus illibata servare; ita quæ minus quandoque considerate
 " aguntur, providentia pleniori corrigere, et in statum debitum
 " nobis imminet reformare. Cum itaque venerabilis frater
 " Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, in venerabilem fratrem
 " nostrum Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, et quosdam
 " alios, excommunicationis sententiam promulgasset; et eorum
 " nunciis ad nostram præsentiam venientibus, in consistorio
 " nostro fuisset hinc inde super ea sententia, et quibusdam
 " aliis articulis plenarie disceptatum: nos cognoscentes tam
 " in ipsum quam in alios jaculatam sententiam inconsulte
 " fuisse prolatam, nullius causæ rationabilis munimine robo-
 " ratam, eam de consilio fratrum nostrorum denunciavimus
 " publice non tenere; irritantes eam, ne quid auctoritatis
 " habeat inhibentes. Ut itaque quod nos decrevimus per
 " partes vestras publice nuncietur, per apostolica scripta
 " vobis mandamus ut eandem sententiam per ecclesias vestras
 " prædictis auctoritate sedis apostolicæ irritatam; ut fidelium
 " populus tam ipsi episcopo quam aliis una cum ipso injuste
 " ligatis, fraternæ communionis participium secure impendat,
 " et ab illorum nullatenus propter hoc communione recedat.
 " Datum Laterani."

The pope
annuls the
excommuni-
cation of
the bishop
of Durham
by the arch-
bishop of
York.

Two legates
are sent into
Normandy.

Dum autem hæc ita agerentur, dominus papa Coeles- Hoveden, 410. a. 8, shorter.
 tinus misit a latere suo duos legatos cardinales in
 Normanniam, quorum unus dicebatur Octavianus Ostien-
 sis episcopus, et alter Jordanus [abbas] de Fossa Nova
 ad titulum Sanctæ Anastasiæ presbyter cardinalis,¹ ad
 diruendam litem controversiæ, quæ erat inter Willel-
 mum Eliensem episcopum et Walterum Rothomagensem
 archiepiscopum et quosdam alios.

The steward
of Norman-
dy refuses
to admit
them into
Gloucester.

Qui cum in Normanniam intrassent et venissent Hoveden, 410. a. 11, much shorter.
 ad Gisorcium, milites castelli et burgenses clausurunt
 eis portas villæ per præceptum Willelmi filii Radulfi
 senescalli Normanniæ, et noluerunt illos intus recipere,
 dicentes quod dominus illorum Ricardus rex Angliæ
 nondum redierat de peregrinatione sua; et in recessu
 suo, cum se signo crucis accinxisset, omnes terras suas
 cismarinas et transmarinas sub protectione Dei et Ro-

Jordan was cardinal priest of S. Pudenziana.

manse ecclesie et domini pape posuerat; nec aliquem legatum in terra sua recipi preceperat; et ideo nolabant ipsi illos, neque alios hujusmodi viros recipere sine illius mandato. Cardinales vero hæc contra dicebant quod illi advenissent portantes pacem et illuminantes patriam, dare pacem gentibus, et liberare populum Domini. Sed neque propter hoc neque propter illorum minas voluerunt prædicti milites vel burgenses illos recipere; immo cum gladiis et fustibus illos retinere coegerunt. Illi autem ibant gaudentes a conspectu populi, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati.

Acts v. 41.

Hoveden,
410. a. 13,
shorter.

Qui cum a Normannia exissent, Octavianus Ostiensis episcopus sententiam interdicti dedit in Normanniam; et excommunicavit prædictum senescallum Normannie et omnes complices suos et fautores, et consiliarios et auctores prædictæ præsumptionis. Jordanus vero de Fossa Nova dilexit regem Angliæ, et noluit sententiam dare in Normanniam nec quicquam molestiæ inferre: unde rex Franciæ iratus fugavit eum a regno suo.

A.D. 1192.
They are
compelled
to retire
from Nor-
mandy.

fo. 187 r.

The bishop
of Ostia puts
Normandy
under an
interdict.Hoveden,
410. a. 15,
shorter.

Quod cum nunciatum esset in Anglia Alienor reginæ et Johanni filio suo comiti Meretonii, et Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, summo totius Angliæ justituario, et aliis ejusdem regni justitiariis, miserunt in Normanniam ad illos Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, ut per illius industriam sententia quæ illata fuit ab illis in Normanniam et in senescallum Normannie relaxaretur; et ut prædicti cardinales ad honorem Dei et Romanæ ecclesie tractarentur.

The queen
and jus-
ticiars send
the bishop
of Durham
to the
legates.

Sed prædictus Dunelmensis episcopus noluit ab Anglia recedere, donec omnia clericorum suorum negotia pro voluntate sua adimplerentur; scilicet negotium Henrici Marescalli decani Sancti Petri Eboraci, et negotium Buccardi ejusdem ecclesie thesaurarii; et Hugonis Murdac et Adæ de Tornovere, ejusdem ecclesie canonicorum, et Petri de Ros archidiaconi Carloliensis, quos Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus vinculo anathematis innodaverat. Ad instantiam enim

The bishop
will not
quit Eng-
land until
his quarrels
are ar-
ranged.

A.D. 1192.
The justiciars order the archbishop to restore the revenues of the bishop's clerks.

Dunelmensis episcopi, Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus et cæteri justitiiarii Angliæ districtius in mandatis dederunt Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, per litteras domini regis, sigillo illius signatas, ut omni excusatione et dilatione remota, redderet prædictis Dunelmensis episcopi clericis omnes redditus suos, et cætera omnia quæ eis abstulerat. Quod si facere noluisse, statuerunt Willelmum de Stutevil et viros potentes qui illum ad hoc faciendum compellerent, vel totum archiepiscopatum suum in manu regis saisiant.

The archbishop refuses to do so, unless the clerks will come to him for absolution.

Qui cum venissent, oraverunt ut acciperent redditus et possessiones illis ablatas; sed noluit prædictus archiepiscopus audire petitionem illorum, nisi prædicti omnes venissent nudi ad limina beati Petri ecclesiæ Eboraci, et ibi absolutionem acceperent, data prius securitate standi iudicio capituli Eboracensis ecclesiæ de omnibus controversiis quæ erant inter illum et illos. Qui cum per aliam viam procedere nequivissent, præfatus Buccardus, et Hugo Murdoc, et Adam de Tornèvere, et Petrus de Ros, noluerunt diutius malignari contra archiepiscopum suum et pastorem animarum suarum: venerunt ad limina ecclesiæ Eboracensis, et ibi meruerunt absolvi, et juraverunt super sacrosancta Evangelia, quod juri starent super omnibus controversiis quæ erant inter prædictum archiepiscopum et illos secundum canonicorum suorum iudicium. Deinde introducti sunt in ecclesiam, et archiepiscopus reddidit illis redditus suos et possessiones; et recepit illos in oculo pacis et in mensa, et pacem et finalem concordiam fecit inter præfatum Buccardum, ecclesiæ Eboracensis thesaurarium, et Hamonem ejusdem ecclesiæ præcentorem, in hunc modum: quod prædictus Buccardus dedit prænominato Hamoni ecclesiam de Alna, quæ principale membrum est thesaurariæ Eboraci, pro bono pacis. Et ipse Hamo quietam clamavit Buccardo thesaurariam illam, tamen quod post decessum illius vel vite mutationem, vel si ad majorem dignitatem

They submit and are placed in fo. 187 v. their stalls and restored to favour.

motus fuerit, thesauraria illa redibit ad Hamonem A.D. 1192.
præcentorem, et ipse inde fiet thesaurarius. Hæc
itaque pax et finalis concordia inter prædictos viros
facta fuit, de voluntate et arbitrio Gaufridi Eboracensis
archiepiscopo, et sigilli sui munimine confirmata.

Henricus autem Marescallus, Eboracensis ecclesie The dean
refuses to
submit and
remains ex-
communicated.
decanus, noluit se humiliare et ad satisfactionem ve-
nire, sicut prænominati socii sui fecerunt. Sed superbe
locutus est contra dominum suum archiepiscopum, et
remansit in eadem sententia anathematis, in qua prius
erat. Et ipse archiepiscopus vero superaddidit male-
dictionem maledictioni, et civitatem cessare fecit a
divinæ celebrationis officio, et a sonitu campanarum,
quamdiu ipse ibidem mansit.

Hoveden,
418. a. 18,
much
shorter.

Hugo vero Dunelmensis episcopus, cupiens adimplere The bishop
of Durham
finds the
legates at
Paris.
voluntatem reginæ et comitis Meretonii et justitiariorum
regis, transfretavit inter Dover et Witsant, et
applicuit in Flandria; et quamcitius potuit venit
Parisius, et ibi invenit prædictos cardinales; quos
blando sermone allocutus dolorem illorum lenivit, quem
de repulsa eis facta in Normannia in animo concepe-
rant adversus senescallum Normanniæ et complices
suos. Et cum magno labore effecit et industria quod He prevails
on the
bishop of
Ostia to
remit the
sentence; if
the steward
will suffer
them to
come to
Rouen.
prædictus Ostiensis episcopus sententiam quam dederat
in senescallum et complices suos, et in Normanniam,
relaxaret: si ipse senescallus et complices sui jurassent
se stare juri ecclesiastico super injuria prædictis car-
dinalibus illata; et si senescallus ille permisisset illos
venire in Normanniam usque ad Rothomagum, non ut
cardinales, sed ut advenas; ita tamen quod clerus
Normanniæ invenisset eis impensas decem dierum ad
quingenta homines et quadraginta equos; et præ-
dicti cardinales supponerent se omnino arbitrio Hugonis
Dunelmensis episcopi, et Johannis Rothomagensis de-
cani, de pace inter illos facienda. At quia senescallus
Normanniæ nullo modo concedere voluit, quod præ-
dicti cardinales venissent in Normanniam sine licentia
domini sui regis Angliæ; ipse vero remansit excom-

A.D. 1192.
The steward
refuses to
do so with-
out the
king's leave.
The bishop
intercedes
for him.

fo. 188 r.
The pope
remits the
interdict.

Quarrel
between the
canons and
citizens of
Rouen.

No mass is
celebrated
from Nov.
25 to Easter.

municatus, et terra sub interdicto, et prædicti cardinales abierunt. Quibus abeuntibus, Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, ad petitionem senescalli, secutus est eos usque Wezeliacum, ut cum illis pro eo pacem faceret.

Interim dominus papa sententiam illam et interdictum Normanniæ relaxavit, et relaxari fecit a legatis, et præcepit quod non intrarent in Normanniam.¹

Hoveden,
416. a. 28.

Eodem anno orta est gravis dissensio inter clericos, scilicet canonicos, Rothomagi et cives civitatis. Canonici namque murum novum fecerant circa cœmeterium suum, et collegerant intus mercatores: et visum erat civibus quod hoc fiebat ad detrimentum civitatis: et petierunt ut canonici prosternerent opus illud, et nolabant. Unde factum est quod quadam die cives ex communi consilio irruerunt, et murum illum funditus subverterunt. Canonici autem petebant a civibus reædificationem muri, et cautionem standi iudicio ecclesiæ, et noluerunt. Tunc canonici cruces ecclesiarum deposuerunt, et omnes ecclesias civitatis a Divino cessare fecerunt officio; et sic a festo Sanctæ Katerinæ usque ad Pascha cessavit civitas a celebratione missæ, et jacebant corpora mortuorum per plateas insepulta. Ad Pascha vero cives introduxerunt presbyteros advenas, et fractis ecclesiis fecerunt eos celebrare in illis, et communionem Corporis et Sanguinis Domini ab eis receperunt. Johannes vero decanus Rothomagi, et canonici ejusdem ecclesiæ, fugerunt ad Andeli, villam Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, et ibi manserunt.

Explicit.

¹ With these words Brompton's extracts from our Chronicle end, c. 1240. He proceeds with the account of the Crusade from the

Itinerarium, following it up with extracts from William of Newburgh, Walter of Hemingburgh, and Ralph of Coggeshall.

[*Sequitur eadem manu Lamentatio de morte Regis Ricardi.*]¹

Neustria sub clypeo regis defensa Ricardi
 Indefensa² modo, gestu testare dolorem.
 Exsudent oculi lacrymas, exterminet ora
 Pallor, connodet digitos tortura, cruentet
 Interiora dolor, et verberet æthera clamor.
 Tota peris³ ex morte sua. Mors non fuit ejus
 Sed tua; non una sed publica mortis origo.
 O Veneris lacrymosa dies! O sidus amarum!
 Illa dies tua nox fuit et Venus illa venenum.
 Illa dedit vulnus, sed pessimus ille dierum
 Primus ab undecimo, qui vitæ vitricus⁴ ipsam
 Clausit, uterque dies homicida, tyrannide mira,
 Trajecit clausus exclusum, tectus apertum
 Providus incertum, miles munitus inermem,
 Et proprium regem. Quid miles perfide, miles
 Perfidias? miles pudor orbis, et unica sordes
 Militiæ? miles manuum factura suarum!
 Ausus es hoc in eum? scelus hoc? scelus istud es ausus,
 O dolor! O plusquam dolor! O mors! O truculenta
 Mors! esses utinam mors mortua. Quid meministi
 Ausa nefas tantum? Placuit tibi tollere solem?
 Et tenebris damnare⁵ solum? Scis quam rapuisti?
 Ipse fuit jubar in oculis, et dulcor in aure,
 Et stupor in mente: scis impia quem rapuisti?
 Ipse fuit dominus armorum, gloria regum,
 Deliciæ mundi, nihil addere noverat ultra.
 Ipse fuit quicquid potuit natura. Sed istud
 Causa fuit quare rapuisti. Res pretiosas
 Eligis, et viles quasi dedignata refutas.⁶
 Et de te, Natura, queror; quis nonne fuisti
 Dum mundus puer esset adhuc, dum nata⁷ jaceres
 In cunis in eo studiosa? nec ante senectam
 Destitit hoc studium. Cur sudor tantus in orbem
 Attulit hoc mirum, si tam brevis abstulit hora

¹ This is an extract from Geoffrey de Vinsauf's *Nova Poetria*, which was printed by Polycarp Leyser, in his *Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Ævi*, pp. 861-978; and separately at Helmstadt in 1724. The lament occupies vv. 366 to 428

of the poem. See also Brompton, 1280.

² *Indefensa*] *Indefensa*, B.

³ *peris*] *paris*, B.

⁴ *vitricus*] *victicus*, B.

⁵ *damnare*] *tenebrare*, Leyser.

⁶ *refutas*] *relinquis*, Leyser.

⁷ *nata*] *nuda*, Leyser.

Sudorem tantum? Placuit tibi tendere¹ mundo
 Et revocare manum? dare sic et tollere donum?
 Cur irritasti mundum? vel redde sepultum
 Vel forma similem. Sed non tibi suppetit unde.
 Quicquid erit tecum vel mirum vel pretiosum,
 Huic erat impensum. Thesauri deliciarum
 Hic sunt exhausti. Ditissima facta fuisti
 Ex hac factura. Fieri pauperrima sentis
 Ex hac jactura. Si felix ante fuisti
 Tanto plus misera quanto felicior ante.
 Si fas est accuso Deum. Deus optima rerum
 Cur hic degeneras? Cur obruis hostis amicum?
 Si recolis pro rege facit Jope Tua; quam tot
 Millibus oppositus solus defendit. Et Accon
 Quam virtute sua Tibi reddidit, et Crucis hostes
 Omnes quos vivus sic terruit ut timeatur
 Mortuus. Ipse fuit sub quo Tua tuta fuerunt.
 Si Deus es, sicut decet esse, fidelis et expers
 Nequitiae, justus et rectus, cur minuisti
 Ergo dies ejus? Potuisti² parcere mundo.
 Mundus egebat eo, sed eum magis eligis esse
 Tecum quam secum; mavis succurrere coelo
 Quam mundo. Domine, dicam, si dicere fas est,
 Pace Tua posses fecisse decentius istud
 Sed³ properasse minus, saltem dum fræna dedisset
 Hostibus. Et facti mora tanquam nulla fuisset
 Res erat in foribus; tunc posset honestius ire
 Et remanere Tibi. Sed in hac re scire dedisti
 Quam brevis est risus, quam longa est lacryma mundi.

Item de gloriosis ejus victoriis in Itinere Ierosolimitano.⁴

Rex Ricarde jaces; sed si mora cederet armis,
 Victa timore tui, cederet ipsa tuis.
 Laus tibi primæ fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Jope
 Tertia; quarta dromo; quinta caverna fuit.
 Suppressi Siculi; Cyprus pessundata; Jope
 Tenta; dromo mersa; capta caverna fuit.

¹ *tendere*] tradere, Leyser.

² *Potuisti*] Potuisses, Leyser.

³ *Sed*] Et, Leyser.

⁴ These lines are found in com-

pany with the Lament in Brompton,
 1281, and in other places. Cf.
 Itinerarium R. R. p. 450.

GLOSSARY.

GLOSSARY.

A.

ADRESCIARE, i. 5; addresser, Fr.; addirizzare, Ital., ad directum restituere; to render account for, repair, or make amends for.
ALEVOSO, i. 150; a Spanish word, signifying a traitor.
ASSISA, i. 107; a law passed in the general assize.
AUBERGELLUM, i. 270; a breast-plate.
AVERE, i. 141; *avoir*; substance.
AURICHALCUM, i. 181; (apparently) brass gilt; the ancient *orichalcum* was pure brass.

B.

BRASCHETUS, ii. 180; a brachet; a dog used for hunting the hare and fox, different from the *Leporarius*.
BRENNON, ii. 132; bran.
BUCLIA, ii. 112; **BUSCIA**, ii. 163; a buss, a large ship.

C.

CANTREDUS, i. 163; cantref; a division of a province corresponding with the hundred.
CAPELLET, i. 278; a head piece.

CAPPA, i. 113; a cape.
CARECTA, i. 43; **CARETTA**, i. 74; a cart.
CAEVANNA, ii. 41; a caravan.
CURSARIA, ii. 95; a swift ship.

D.

DECIUS, ii. 32; a die for gambling.
DEMANIUM, i. 170, = *Dominium*; demesne.
DISPENSA, ii. 149; a store-room or warehouse.
DISTRICTÆ, ii. 204; straits.

E.

EFFORCIARE, i. 81; to fortify.
ESTERLINGUS, ii. 100; *marcæ* and *libræ Esterlingorum*; marks and pounds of Easterlings, or sterling.
EXTHACIUS, ii. 52. If this word is not corrupt, it probably means some sort of domestic servant, or dependant, or messenger. Cf. *Du Cange, s. v. Stagium, Stare*.

F.

FALSONNERIA, i. 108; a forger or corrupter of the coinage.
FOSMATUM, or **FOSSUM**, i. 42, &c.; a ditch.

H.

HURDICUS, ii. 144, 169; the hurdle under which a storming party approached the walls of a city; sometimes any machine or engine of war.

I.

IMPRISA, i. 77; undertaking; engagement.
INFORCIARE, i. 78, 82; to fortify.

J.

JUSTITIA, i. 107, &c.; a justiciar, or justice.

L.

LACEATUS, ii. 32 = *Laqueatus*; fringed or laced.
LIGANTIA, i. 3, &c.; allegiance.
LEUCATA, ii. 131; properly the space of a league; a suburban district, or *baulieu*.
LUPUS, i. 23; the name given by the Western historians to the successive Mahometan kings of Valencia in Spain.

M.

MAISNEDA, i. 171; a household; *menage*; *meynie*.
MANTICA, ii. 48; a scrip or pouch.
MARABOTINUS, i. 153; a *maravedi*.
MEDIANETUM, i. 143; an arbitration.

MELSEMUTUS, ii. 152. See note at the place. The name *Mausamuz* (R. de Monte, 927) or *Macemut* (R. de Diceto), is given to the second monarch of the Almohade dynasty.

N.

NAMTIRE, i. 194; to take as a pledge, *namium*.

O.

ODORISQUUS, ii. 180; a hound.

P.

PALEFRIDUS, ii. 106; a riding horse.
PASTEIA, ii. 131; pastry.
PERPERUS, i. 250; a Byzantine coin equal to a fourth part of the mark of gold.
POTIONATUS, ii. 149; poisoned.
PRISA, i. 5; a taking; an exaction.
PRISO, i. 60, 78; a prisoner.
PRORETHA, ii. 63; Greek, *προρητής*; the master of a vessel.
PUMBONE, ii. 112. An obscure word applied to the galley used by king Richard. It is uncertain whether it was the name of the vessel, or of its owner, or descriptive of the character of the galley.

Q.

QUINTALLUS, ii. 204; a weight of a hundred pounds.

R.

RELIGARE, ii. 164; to gather; or, perhaps, = Relegare.

RETATUS, i. 108; put upon trial; i. q. Reus. The word is printed in Savile's Hoveden *rectatus*.

REWARDUM, ii. 100; the reguard of the forest. See Manwood, vii. 4.

ROBERIA, i. 108; robbery.

S.

SALICES ii. 63, = Salaces; active, nimble.

SALMA, ii. 133; a seam or quarter of grain.

SOLIDARIUS, ii. 50; SOLDARIUS, i. 61; a soldier serving for pay.

SONARE, ii. 132; to try a coin by sounding it.

STERLINGUS, ii. 67; money in general.

STOLIUM, i. 171; a fleet.

SUMARIUS, i. 43; ii. 106; a pack horse.

SUMMA, ii. 145; a horse load; a quarter or seam; v. Salma.

SYRIA, SIRIA, ii. 100; a shire.

T.

TERRIM, ii. 32; TERRINS, ii. 133; Sicilian coin, called tarenus or

taris, weighing 20 grains of gold. It is printed in Savile's Hoveden *teruncius*.

TREGA, ii. 7, &c.; i. q. Treuga; a truce.

U.

UPSERS, ii. 159; a sort of vessel called huissier, or usher.

V.

VAGIUM, i. 79; i. q. Vadium; security.

VILLICANUS, i. 5; a steward.

W.

WAMBASIA, i. 270, 278; a gambison; a thick quilted coat; a buff jacket.

Y.

YCONIA, ii. 121; an image.

Z.

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